Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-223 *20 November 1995*

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Finn To Head FRY Border Monitoring Mission

AU1711172695 Paris AFP in English 1634 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Nov 17 (AFP)—A former head of the Finnish paratroopers school has been named new head of the UN mission monitoring the border between the rump Yugoslavia and rebel-held territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Tarmo Kauppila will take over at the end of the year from retired General Tauno Nieminen, a UN statement released here said.

The United Nations has had just over 200 international observers from 15 countries monitoring the border between Serbia and Montenegro and the self-declared Bosnian Serb republic.

Belgrade agreed in August 1994 to close its border with the rebel territory and cut off all aid to the Bosnian Serb rebels.

In their last report, dated November 8, the monitors said Belgrade "is continuing to meet its commitment."

UN Said To Play Major Role in Ex-Yugoslavia

LD1911163795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1559 GMT 19 Nov 95

["Pool" item by Stevan Cordas]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Nov. 19 (TANJUG)—After a peace is agreed in Dayton, Ohio, the United Nations will continue playing a major role in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, diplomats in Geneva have said.

The world organization's immediate task will be to preserve peace in the Srem-Baranja region during the critical transition period, the diplomats said.

Although the Security Council should yet decide about this, in Geneva it is claimed that during the first three months the U.N. troops will have a peacekeeping role, after which NATO would take over.

The United Nations will remain in the region with the role of a civil administration in the transition period.

The United Nations will have the hardest job with the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons which, according to latest plans, should begin in the early spring of next year.

In this action, unprecendented in Europe following World War Two, the main role will be played by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), but the biggest part of the work will be carried out by the other organizations.

UNHCR leaders claim that the refugee problem has come into the focus of the Dayton peace talks so that all participants of the talks, primarily those who are politically and financially the most powerful, and with the help of world financial institutions and key factors in the Balkans, are expected to help in this extremely complex job.

To ensure the success of the announced resettlement of the almost four-million refugees and displaced persons, it is necessary to first secure the survival of the refugees during the winter in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

This is why New York and Geneva are on Monday expected to send calls to donors for aid for this winter amounting to about 200 million dollars.

This will be followed by actions for the collection of 400-500 million dollars for the start of the resettlement operation.

In the Geneva U.N. seat it was recently said that Croatia and the Sarajevo Muslim government have been forced to stop the forceful resettlement of refugees because this violated one of the basic principles of the Geneva convention.

Regarding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is being praised for all its efforts to provide care for the about 700,000 refugees, the basic condition for completing the complex post-war activities is the urgent lifting of the sanctions.

This is something that everyone in the Palais De Nations is aware, as well as of the fact that Yugoslavia's inability to no longer bear such a heavy burden is solely due to the sanctions.

So far hardly anyone in the United Nations has openly spoken about the detrimental effects of the sanctions, but now in Geneva they are saying that the sanctions will soon be lifted.

Some diplomats in Geneva, however, warn that such estimates should be taken with a pinch of salt because the world powers, rather than the United Nations, play the key political role in the resolution of the global crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and in the decisions about the destiny of the sanctions.

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Concern Over Former Officials 'Revealing Secrets'

AU2011161495 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 17 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Ilir Alia: "Danger of Former Ministers Revealing Secrets"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Former senior Albanian officials who are now abroad could reveal secrets. The alarm has been raised by the Parliamentary Commission for Defense, Public Order, and the National Intelligence Service. One still can not mention specific people, but concern exists. At its regular meeting last Tuesday [14 November], the commission drafted a statement addressed to the government. "We ask for measures to be taken to cover at le st those former officials and ministers who still live in Albania," Adem Zyberi, deputy chairman of the parliamentary commission told GAZETA SHQIPTARE.

The real danger is posed by those people who in the past were responsible for sensitive areas and are in possession of a great deal of state information that constitutes a secret. "Many diplomats and other officials have not returned," Zyberi says, talking about those who are still in possession of data and various documents. "In the most extreme cases, documentation has not been handed in, which is quite intolerable."

How can this alarming phenomenon be stopped? These people in possession of state secrets are now performing other, nongovernmental functions. They may, therefore, now be travelling abroad for their own reasons. Zyberi says, "We cannot prevent people's free travel, but at least let them ask for permission." How could this be practical? "We have asked the government to issue a decree under which these people, before they are supplied with passports, should receive permission and be interviewed about dangers of this kind," Zyberi replied.

Although the letter sent to Meksi's cabinet mentions no specific instances, they must relate to former officials who served until the last days of the dictatorship an who went abroad after the change in Albania's political system. Fears mostly relate to those heading sensitive sectors such as in defense and the Interior Ministry. Secrets in these two fields are most worrying, because they are directly tied to the country's defense strategy. "These people are continually exposed to the peril of falling into the traps of secret services," Zyberi says.

However, if prophylactic measures may be found for former officials still in Albania, what about those who left long ago? Members of the parliamentary commission can still not offer a practical solution but imply that the laws in force in Albania would be applied in these cases too. Although no specific names have been mentioned, the fear of the sale of the Albanian state's secret data is both present and considered highly significant.

Nano, Alia, Ruci To Face 'Genocide' Charges

AU2011105395 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 19 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by "P. Re.": "Events of 2 April—an Accusation for Nano"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Shkoder—Former Prime Minister Fatos Nano faces a second charge of "genocide." In the wake of the events of February and March 1991, accusations over the incidents of 2 April are now being brought against the Socialist leader and also against Ramiz Alia and Gramoz Ruci as former senior figures of the Albanian state.

It is those injured in the Shkoder massacre who are now preparing the charges that are soon to be handed to the procurator. This news comes from the presidium of the 2 April Association. The plaintiffs from Shkoder are asking for those who gave the orders for the genocide against the people of Shkoder to be placed in the dock alongside the other culprits. At the time, the victory of the left in the first pluralist elections led to protests in Shkoder, during which four people were killed and 67 others wounded. The majority of these still suffer today from the injuries they received. The dead included Arben Broci, one of the founders of the Democratic Party. Nevertheless, his mother told GAZETA SHQIPTARE that "we know nothing about this denunciation. The Genocide Law has come out, but the state has still not completed its first trial. The state must finish that one first."

The Shkoder District Court sentenced five people for indirectly premeditated murder after a 10-day trial in December 1992. The court verdicts left unsatisfied some people who wanted the real culprits of the crime and those who issued their orders to be brought to justice.

People's Assembly Debates Bank Privatization Bill

AU2011121395 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 17 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by Ilir Alia: "Now the Banks Move Toward Privatization: How Will Deposits Be Guaranteed?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—The People's Assembly has debated how the banks are to be privatized. Arguments were mainly between supporters of the existing bill and the Socialist opposition, which called for greater explanation of the proposed procedure and for guarantees for individual deposits after the bank passes into the

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hands of shareholders. The Socialist deputy Shkelqim Cani said that "This decision cannot be left in the hands of the government. It must be left to us to guarantee these deposits by law, as is the practice throughout the world." Genc Ruli, chairman of the Economic Commission, replied at once to Cani on behalf of the Democratic Party parliamentary group, saying, "A law will be passed on this, but before it is drafted the government must decide on privatization."

The debate between the two politically opposed experts continued. For Cani, "the entire privatization procedure must be approved by parliament and not by the government, for the simple reason that the banks are fundamental to a market economy and, if we are examining the privatization of other sectors less important than the banks, we must also look at everything that concerns them." Ruli retorted that "parliament will approve the essential features of this privatization, and the precise formula, and there is, therefore, no room for worry of this kind." The deputy Ermelinda Meksi interrupted the heated exchanges between Ruli and Cani, demanding an explanation of "why it is not clearly stated who will guarantee individual deposits when banks go bankrupt following the start of the privatization procedure." For Meksi too, "It is vital to study the formula offered by the government, because we must follow the worldwide practice whereby holdings of more than at best 28 percent are not permitted to private shareholders."

According to the bill submitted by the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Albania, the Council of Ministers will decide how and to what degree individual deposits will be insured, as long as no special law for this purpose has been approved. The bill also demands that privatized banks will be subject to auditing by specialist foreign firms, which means determining a formula for sharing state capital with the shareholders who will receive a portion as part of the privatization process.

Creditor Banks Forecast Economic Development

AU2011121295 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Nov 95 p 4

[Report by F.C.: "The State's Increased Funds and the Balance of Payments Deficit"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Where can additional sources of revenue for the Albanian state budget be found? A report by the Economic Subcommittee of the Advisory Council of Albania's Creditor Banks points out two ways. The first concerns the principle of "Pay as you go," and concerns the theft of electricity among the population. However, it is unlikely that a house-to-house inspection of old electricity meters will be effective, at least not this year and during the first months of 1996.

A second way of obtaining revenue would be to double the duty on imported cars. If this had been done in 1994, the report states, the pocket of the Albanian state would have been fuller to the tune of $10 million. Customs duties might be increased at the beginning of 1996; in the meantime a considerable proportion of imported cars cross the Albanian border with forged customs documents.

It is important to boost state revenue in order to cover the balance of payments deficit. Emergency foreign aid helped to a significant extent between 1992 and 1993. Albania was granted $412 million during this period, most of it in food aid and raw materials. In 1994, this aid amounted to $227, but it is forecast to fall to no more than $50 million this year because of the country's fast revival and the regeneration of productive capacity. In order to develop its economic base, Albania needs a further $1 billion in loans on favorable terms and aid for its infrastructure. It is forecast that credit from the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will be about $65 million per year. In the 1995-97 period, the EU will give about $300 million, and bilateral aid and loans will amount to $378 million. This makes up the sum of $1 billion required for investment in the country's infrastructure and for Albania's economic regeneration. The loans must one day be repaid, and it is therefore necessary to examine Albania's solvency, i.e., the progress of its balance of payments deficit. If the Albanian Government had not succeeded in renegotiating and solving the problem of the private foreign debt, we would still have a negative balance with a debt of $47 million in 1998. Now that the debt problem has been solved, a positive trade balance is forecast for 1998, i.e., others will owe our country money, as a result of our rising exports.

Nevertheless, the current account deficit (i.e. the difference between the country's payments and earnings during a given period) will rise in absolute terms to $270 million in 1997, although it will decline as a proportion of the GNP from 16 percent to 13 percent.

Report Shows Farmers' Earnings 'Lowest in Europe'

AU1511210895 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 14 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by B. Malo: "The Value of Labor in Agriculture"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The annual agricultural earnings per person of Albanian peasants amount to a mere 25-30 percent of the national average earnings of $550. Fifty percent of the labor force in agriculture earns a mere $165 per year. Agricultural earnings in Albania are the

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lowest in Europe because of the marked backwardness of Albanian farming as inherited from 50 years of dictatorship.

In 1992, about 400,000 Albanian farmers began work to produce both for themselves and for the markets of Albania's 50 towns at a time when the irrigation system was devastated; machinery, seeds, and fertilizers were unavailable; and acute problems still bedevilled land distribution. Even though the number of title deeds granted still falls far short of reported statistics, about 85 percent of arable land is now under cultivation. The most recent statistics report that there are Albanian peasant families with very modest monthly earnings of $34. The lowest incomes are mainly in northeastern districts such as Puke, Mirdite, Diber, Bulqize, and Pogradec, where the area of land per family is lowest, an average of 0.5 hectares, and the labor costs are equal to the costs of the produce.

A study in 1994 also showed that lowest agricultural earnings are in the mountainous parts of the districts of Librazhd, Puke, Vlore, Kukes, and Tropoje, where arable land is limited and milk and meat are the main sources of both food and income. In these areas, the inhabitants themselves consume the bulk of their produce, of which only 30 percent is traded. The value of these people's consumption, plus the value of their produce that is sold, yields average incomes of $548 for a family with six or seven members, or $85 per person.

Mr. Idriz Xhumari of the Ministry of Agriculture explained that "the other poorest group belongs to the districts of Kukes Mat, and Mirdite in the north and Korce and Tepelene in the south, where very little arable farming and stockraising are possible."

Studies show that these peasants consume about 70 percent of their produce, and their annual earnings are a mere $112 per person.

Peasants with the highest earnings, according to the statistics, are on the coastal plain, mainly in the central Albanian districts of Fier, Durres, Kavaje, Kruje, Lac, Lezhe, and Tirana, and in the district of Shkoder in the north.

Mr. Xhumari explained that "agriculture is more intensive and diversified in these areas, and a farming unit has an average of 1.8 hectares of land. Families in these areas sell more than they consume. Annual family incomes amount to $170 per person."

"Nevertheless," Mr. Xhumari said, "the majority of peasants feel economically very well placed."

The main point is that about 40 percent of families are obliged to find work outside agriculture in order to ensure their livelihood.

"This is a normal phenomenon. The peasant economy will start to consolidate itself when 50 percent of farmers find nonagricultural work: this will mean that small farms will be able to join together." The urbanization of rural areas will inevitably also pave the way for industry.

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Zhelev on Balkan Policy, 'Paraegnatia,' FYROM

NC1911211895 Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 19 Nov 95 p 3

[Report on an "exclusive" interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by correspondent Rozi Voudhouri; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Answering I KATHIMERINI questions in light of President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos' visit to Sofia tomorrow, the Bulgarian president said he believes cooperation with Greece is very significant. He also supports a policy of maintaining an equal distance between Greece and Turkey, because as he has repeatedly said, he believes this policy "has operated well so far." He stressed that any extreme approach toward one of these two countries will imbalance Bulgaria's Balkan policy.

The president of the neighboring country called on Greece—as an EU and NATO member state—to give "a good example to the Balkan states both with its Balkan and European policy." He also referred to bilateral cooperation, saying that Bulgaria did not proceed with the reformations at the required speed and it cannot be considered Greece's equal partner.

Zhelev said he hopes Stefanopoulos will give Greece's support for Bulgaria's accession to the EU and NATO. The Bulgarian president will also raise the issue of opening new border passages to "facilitate contact between the people of the two countries and the movement of ideas, products, capital, and technology." He also hopes that the meeting with his Greek counterpart will confirm the good bilateral relations. He said the talks will be open to other issues, which he expects the Greek side to raise.

Referring to the Burgas-Alexandroupolis oil pipeline, Zhelev said he believes its construction is very significant and must be made based on an equal relation between the states, obviously meaning Greece and Bulgaria since Russia is expected to participate with the largest percentage. He said experts are studying the issue, adding: "I cannot say anything explicitly. When the negotiations and the investigation of the case are completed, the decision will be made."

Asked if the funds for the construction of the road axis from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, the so-called Paraegnatia, have been secured, the Bulgarian president said there is great interest, but did not give details. He added that the issue of inter-European infrastructure in the region is being discussed at an OECD seminar to be held in Sofia. [passage omitted]

Asked if there are forces that want instability in the Balkans (referring to the murder attempt against Kiro Gligorov), Zhelev said he is certain that some forces want instability in Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], "but, thank God, because of the interest of international organizations, EU and NATO—which have undertaken the commitment—it is not that easy to destabilize even a state like that one." The Bulgarian president said explicitly that no one will benefit from a Balkan war. He recalled that four Balkan wars were held during the 20th Century and none had a positive outcome for the region.

Zhelev described the Bosnian war as "foolish" and "inconsiderate." He believes it is heading toward a solution, "although," he said, "any surprise is possible in this kind of nationalistic war." [passage omitted]

Assembly Official Receives Turkish, Russian Envoys

AU2011164295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 20 November Nikolay Kamov, chairman of the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy, received Mehmet Ali Irtemcelik, Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria, at his request. Issues of bilateral interest were discussed, including the dispute regarding the activity of Turkish diplomats in the Kurdzhali region during the elections.

Mr. Kamov pointed out that this problem is within the competence of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry.

Mr. Kamov also received Georgiy Muradov, minister plenipotentiary at the Russian Embassy, who handed him a document from the Council of the Russian Federation, which expresses the categorical position against NATO's expansion eastward.

Mr. Kamov and the Russian representative refused to comment on the issue.

SDS Urges 'Positive' Stand on NATO Membership

AU1811161595 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 15 Nov 95 pp 1-2

["Memorandum of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces: For Bulgaria, There Is No Alternative to NATO Membership"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In April 1995 the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary group submitted to the National Assembly a draft resolution on the Republic of Bulgaria joining NATO. In May a working group of the Foreign Policy Commission, which included members of all the political forces represented in parliament, prepared a draft resolution urging that the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria should declare its firm desire to join the North Atlantic Pact.

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Due to the reluctance of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary majority, this document has not yet been included in the agenda of the National Assembly's plenary sessions. As the main reason for this postponement, the BSP gave the argument that NATO still has to work out the conditions for the organization's expansion.

Today, the conditions for NATO membership have already been prepared and presented to all the potential candidates.

For Bulgaria, there is no reasonable alternative to NATO membership. To seek to form other alliances is little more than returning to the past, while the declaration of some kind of "active neutrality" clearly reveals a disregard for the explosive geographical situation that Bulgaria is in.

For a country to be invited to join the North Atlantic Alliance, it must clearly and unmistakably declare its wish to join. The last time that this issue was examined in Bulgaria was two years ago, when on 21 December 1993 the National Assembly adopted a declaration of Bulgaria's intention to present its candidature to join NATO. However, this declaration did not sufficiently strongly state our desire for membership. Since that time, the issue has been put in "cold storage," and the parliamentary majority does not want it to be developed in any real way.

The former communist countries of Central and East Europe, including the Baltic republics, have already declared their intentions to join NATO. Bulgaria is the only one of them not to have done this, despite the fact that in only a few weeks NATO will hold a session to review the results of the investigatory period and the positions of the countries that have applied to become new members.

The SDS insists that a positive declaration should finally be made of our standpoint on the issue of Bulgaria's candidature to join NATO, recalling that the SDS has consistently supported this position at all the international forums and meetings held to date. The final clarification of the criteria for this membership and the evident fact that they can be fulfilled provide no further grounds for postponing the passing of an unequivocal resolution.

The SDS demands that the National Assembly include in its agenda a debate and vote on a draft resolution on Bulgaria joining the North Atlantic Pact that will unequivocally show the attitude of the political forces to Bulgaria's national security.

BSP Alleges 'Voting Violations' in Kurdzhali

AU1611153595 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Nov 95 p 1

[Report by Radka Petrova; "Was Voting in Kurdzhali Invalid?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Until last night the Municipal Electoral Commission in Kurdzhali was unable to announce the results of the mayoral election because of the serious voting violations. At the request of the commission the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs began a check of the passport registration of 2,112 people, whose names have been added to the voting register. Furthermore, the addition of names to the voting register between the two rounds of the elections will also be checked.

A long meeting was interrupted yesterday when Milena Karamanolova, head of the commission, felt ill. The commission was able to continue its meeting today, after receiving information from the Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Late in the election night extremists in front of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] headquarters demanded Turkish autonomy, and the same happened afterward in the Borovets Gypsy districts, witnesses report. In a joint declaration the All-People Committee on Defense of National Interests and the Fatherland Party of Labor warned that they consider the Kurdzhali elections illegal, and separatist pan-Turkish appeals—dangerous for the civic peace. The DPS denied this and said that it has not even demanded economic autonomy. A recording of Ahmed Dogan's statement in Kurdzhali on 26 October proved precisely the opposite.

Complaints to the electoral commission show that hundreds of people voted with the address registration noted on 12 November by municipal officials, or voted twice, at two separate polling stations, with two different passports. Hours before the 10 November rally of the civic committee in support of Georgi Georgiev, the police confiscated from two local youths 158 blank cartridges, 15 TNT charges, two signal rockets, and other explosives, it was reported.

Late Sunday night a Gypsy killed his wife and son with an axe because they had voted for Dr. Georgiev and not for Rasim Musa, for which they have been promised money, according to his own admission.

At the DPS news conference on 13 November it was announced that Rasim Musa won the post of Kurdzhali mayor because of the prudence of the voters, apparently also those who received bribes, or were threatened with having their houses burned down. Dogan's people said

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that Ahmed Dogan will personally compose Musa's team.

Some 46,108 voters voted in Kurdzhali's second round, and they cast 45,751 valid votes. According to the returns, Rasim Musa won the post of mayor by gaining 658 votes more than the independent candidate Dr. Georgiev.

The BSP petitioned the court and contested the results of the first round of the municipal elections in Kurdzhali because of the false registration of the voters' passport data by the local authorities.

DPS Head Denies Voting 'Along Ethnic Lines'

AU1611132295 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 14 Nov 95 p 2

[Interview with DPS leader Ahmed Dogan by "reporters from Sofia dailies"; place and date not given: "Ahmed Dogan Is Convinced That He Could Win Again in Kurdzhali"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Reporter] Mr. Dogan, did you manage the election headquarters of your candidate Rasim Musa?

[Dogan] Yes, I personally managed it until the last moment.

[Reporter] Was the voting in Kurdzhali along ethnic lines?

[Dogan] No, it was not. Studies are being conducted now. There are districts in which no Turks live and yet we received many votes. By the end of the week we will have the ethnic picture of the voting in Kurdzhali.

[Reporter] What does that mean?

[Dogan] The fact that we were supported by other parties means that we overcame the danger of ethnic voting.

[Reporter] Is this the beginning of a new opposition?

[Dogan] Yes, we have prevented the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] from winning in that region and I think that this marks the beginning of new relations among the opposition forces in the region. We intend to rule together with our partners even in locations where the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] has 100-percent support. This means that we are prepared to assume responsibility for the region. It was no accident that the mass media has compared the importance of Kurdzhali to that of Sofia. We did everything possible to achieve our victory.

[Reporter] Since you are saying that voting in Kurdzhali did not have an ethnic character, does it mean that you overcame the danger of turning the DPS into an ethnic party?

[Dogan] You are again chewing up the same issue—the DPS and its ethnic character....

[Reporter] There is a rumor among diplomatic circles that the BSP could request the annulment of the results of the elections in Kurdzhali.

[Dogan] I do not think that there is any reason for this. If the results are annulled, the importance of Kurdzhali will grow even further and I am convinced that we will win again, because I personally managed the election headquarters there and I know precisely how things are. You understand how stupid it is to use the slogan "Long Live Turkey!" if you want to win the elections in Kurdzhali. However, more than 30 parties and organizations tried to organize provocations and these slogans were written by them. You understand this very well.

[Reporter] Has the DPS extended its influence in regions with a mixed population?

[Dogan] Yes, we have two new municipalities—Belitsa and Mineral Baths-Khaskovo. Especially the second is in a rather red [BSP] region. It is very important that we made a breakthrough precisely there. The voters in that region were not led by ethnic principles. We were also supported by other parties.

[Reporter] Much has been said about the participation of foreign emissaries and representatives in the elections.

[Dogan] How could they participate in the elections? On what basis? I can tell you that this issue does not interest me at all. Direct your question to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Reporter] Did you not see anything of this kind?

[Dogan] Well, they may have travelled around. The UK ambassador also wanted to attend. There were more than 30 observers in Kurdzhali.

Former Business Bloc Members To Found New Party

AU1711085295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 16 Nov 95

[Report by Sonya Karlova of Radio Plovdiv]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the initiative of independent National Assembly Deputies Ivo Traykov, Nikolay Kisyov, and Orlin Draganov, a new party called New Democracy is to be founded within the next 10 days. This was announced at a news conference in Plovdiv today. According to Ivo Traykov, former members of

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the Bulgarian Business Bloc will join the new party, the majority of them being former members of the Bloc's Plovdiv organization. Traykov predicted that within three years the party will play the role of a balancing force in Bulgarian politics.

Kozloduy No. 2 Reactor Started at Minimum Power

AU2011111395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 20 Nov 95

[Report from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant press center, disseminated through BTA]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant this morning, work commenced on starting up the 440-megawatt No. 2 Reactor Unit. After permission was received, the unit was started at its minimum controllable power output at 0805 AM [0605 GMT] this morning. During the next 24 hours, routine physical experiments will be carried out. It is planned to switch on the reactor's turbines.

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Havel Views Development Since Nov 1989

LD1911170795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Regular Sunday interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Robert Tamchyna—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tamchyna] [Passage omitted] Mr. President, have you in any way been taken by surprise by developments in the Czech Republic in the six years since November [1989]? Or do you believe that such developments could have been expected?

[Havel] I think that the development, which eventually resulted in political plurality, was not only natural but also the development we wanted to see. Or did we fight for something other than plurality?

Those commentators who claim that people who fought against communism wanted a society without political parties, with no left wing or right wing and one in which no political powers would be supported, do real injustice to these people. That is pure nonsense. By wanting democracy we wanted a plurality of political parties, political entities, and the plurality and freedom of thinking. It is all right and it is logical that all this has happened. I have no objections.

The issue at stake is the culture and the manners in politics. Another issue is that political life should not be too party-orientated; thus, eventually, the mere fact of who is a member of which party and what is the particular interest of a particular party in that very moment does not prevail over considerations relating to the very core of various problems and the weight of arguments. [passage omitted]

Klaus Reelected Civic Democratic Party Chairman

LD1911114795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hana Sverakova reports from the congress of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS].

[Sverakova] Vaclav Klaus has been reelected ODS chairman. Of the total of 272 valid votes, 259 votes were for him. [passage omitted]

The ODS congress has just reelected Libor Novak the party's executive deputy chairman.

Chairman of Christian Democratic Party Reelected

LD1911134795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Czech Education Minister Ivan Pilip has been confirmed in the post of chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] by an overwhelming majority. Marika Taborska reports:

[Taborska] Ivan Pilip was elected by 91 of the total of 118 possible votes. All of the other candidates running for the top party post, including Vaclav and Marek Benda, withdrew their candidacy before voting. [passage omitted]

ODS Approves Merger With Christian Democrats

LD1811164395 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hana Sverakova reports from our Hradec Kralove studio on the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] congress:

[Sverakova] To no one's surprise, the ODS congress has overhelmingly approved an agreement on merging with the Christian Democratic Party-Club of Commmitted Non-Party Members [KDS-KAN], while the merger of the KDS and KAN is just being discussed in Svitavy [north Moravia]. This means that KDS representatives will be included on ODS lists of candidates for parliamentary elections. [passage omitted]

The parties' merger is aimed at strengthening the right-wing orientation. It will contribute several percent to the ODS vote, and, at the same time, it will offer Christian Democrats an opportunity to gain posts in the parliamentary elections.

The merger agreement is expected to be implemented at the end of March next year, provided it is also approved by both the KDS congress and the KAN congress held in Svitavy.

KDS Votes To Merge with ODS in Mar 96

LD1811224595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2200 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Christian Democratic Movement [KDS] will merge with the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] at the end of March 1996. This decision was made by the delegates to the KDS congress held in Svitavy, who voted on the draft merger agreement. Marika Taborska has more details:

[Taborska] Of all of the delegates present, 101 voted in favor of the merger with ODS, and thus for the de facto demise of their own party; 69 delegates voted against the merger. [passage omitted]

Klaus Comments on Failed ODS-KAN-KDS Merger

LD1811191495 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The first day of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] congress in Hradec Kralove is

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about to end. Hana Sverakova reports from our studio in Hradec Kralove:

[Sverakova] [passage omitted] The most important point on today's agenda was the approval of a merger agreement between the ODS and KAN [Club of Committed Nonparty Members] and the Christian Democratic Party [KDS]. The ODS approved the merger almost unanimously. Commenting on the fact that KAN, at its congress in Svitavy, today withdrew from the merger agreement, Vaclav Klaus said:

[Begin recording] [Klaus] I am aware that the situation within KAN has been very complicated, that its balance is fragile, and that, among those attending the congress, one-half was determined to accept the merger while the other half was determined to reject it. I have acknowledged their no, which was in fact decided on the strength of one vote. I think that, as regards our country, it is to some extent a pity that this happened.

[Unidentified correspondent] And as regards ODS?

[Klaus] I think the direct impact of this decision is altogether nil. I do not think that it means that everything is over. The fact that KAN did not approve the merger agreement with the KDS does not mean that we will not reach a similar merger agreement directly between the ODS and KAN. I have to reveal that, in fact, in the past few days, I discussed this option with some KAN officials. [end recording]

KAN Leaders Resign After KDS Merger Failure

LD1811215695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Emil Dejmek has resigned from the post of chairman of the Club of Committed Nonparty Members [KAN]. Marika Taborska has more details:

[Taborska] Emil Dejmek and other members of the current KAN leadership resigned from their posts shortly after the delegates to the KAN congress voted in favor of withdrawing from the partnership agreement with the Christian Democratic Party [KDS]. The decision was arrived at through a majority of only one vote.

Commenting on his resignation, Emil Dejmek said that, by having voted on the withdrawal from the partnership agreement with the KDS, the delegates had also rejected the results of his work in the KAN leadership over the past two years.

A new leadership will be elected tomorrow.

Interior Minister on Mlynar Arrest for Treason

LD1811125595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking in Hradec Kralove today, Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml commented on the fact that Zdenek Mlynar has been accused of high treason. He said that the case has a political context and there is no point in dealing with it as treason because so much time has now passed.

Ruml went on to say that he was not familiar with the activities of Mlynar, the present Left Bloc chairman, in 1968, but described Mlynar's later activities as very important and necessary.

At the same time, Jan Ruml has rejected a request from Left Bloc Chairman Jaroslav Ortman to reassess whether the Office for the Documentation and Investigation of Communist Crimes, led by Vaclav Benda, should continue its work.

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Meciar Confirms Intention To Join NATO

AU1711145795 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Nov 95 p 6

[TASR report: "V. Meciar Does Not Recall the Statement 'If the West Will Not Have Us, We Will Turn Eastward'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"Joining the EU and NATO is not a question of enthusiasm but rather of pragmatism," Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said in an interview broadcast by the German N-TV station. "I do not identify with those European politicians who say that our admission to these organizations will have to be paid for by West European taxpayers. We, too, will have to make up the difference," the prime minister added. The view that Slovakia's admission to the EU and NATO remains questionable is, according to Vladimir Meciar, just that of some Slovak political parties but not the Slovak Government. "The statement 'If the West will not have us, we will turn eastward' is supposed to have come from me, but I do not recall making it," Meciar said in reply to a question from the German moderator on the stand of the Slovak Republic regarding the opposition by the Russian Federation to the planned expansion of NATO.

"Regarding the orientation of the Slovak Republic toward NATO, we have signed up to PFP [Partnership for Peace] and have fulfilled our obligations so far. We want to join the alliance, but we are also interested in the overall security situation in Europe," he continued. It is only the lower level of the intergovernmental dialogue, according to the prime minister, that is responsible for the fact that lately, despite the traditionally good relations between Germany and the former Czechoslovakia, Bonn has preferred Prague as a partner. Another problem is that the negative reporting abroad on Slovakia has led to apprehension among important economic institutions in Germany.

"We have discussed issues of the unified European market and problems of security and conducting of a political dialogue," Meciar said in answer to the question of what he hoped to gain by participating in the international European Forum in Berlin. "The Forum has confirmed some open issues," he observed. There are still no institutions to take care of the administration of the unified European market and no concept of a united Europe," he continued. He also pointed out that, in accordance with the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty, bilateral relations between Hungary and Slovakia have improved. This improvement was also boosted by Meciar's latest meeting with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn, who also took part in the Berlin conference. Regarding the economic situation of Slovakia and the significant changes in the privatization process, Meciar said that the Slovak Republic had reached the development stage and that the general economic situation has stabilized.

Meciar Responds To EU Resolution

LD1711215595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1740 GMT 17 Nov 95

[Regular Friday interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Michal Tvarozek on 17 November; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Tvarozek] The European Parliament yesterday [16 November] adopted a resolution expressing alarm over developments in the Slovak Republic. On the one hand, both of the demarches [from the European Union and the United States] and the resolution have revealed serious gaps in communication between the European Union and Slovakia. Amd on the other hand, the European Union expects us to meet it halfway in tackling the problems outlined in the resolution. Is your government going to discuss these comments?

[Meciar] What are the new elements in this matter? The European Parliament is threatening us with sanctions. That is new. As regards the adoption of such statements, already once before they had expressed their stance, in the Gabcikovo [-Nagymaros water project] case, and they were proved wrong.

It is nothing new that they fail to communicate with those in question. In advance they chose who to blame and decide on their subsequent course of action.

As regards the content of these things, another new element is that there is no doubt that a role in drafting them was played by an official from ethnic Hungarian political parties and, according to press reports, to the same extent also by a member of the [Slovak opposition] Democratic Union, Milan Knazko [1992-93 Slovak foreign minister, stripped of his post in March 1993 after conflicts with Meciar; from 1994 deputy chairman of the Democratic Union]. And it is said that they worked on it already a month ago.

It is regrettable that the European Parliament adopts a statement, and only after its adoption it is sending a commission [on 22 November] to investigate what is going on in Slovakia. It is regrettable that a threat of sanctions is made before the facts have been defined.

As democracy and freedom are spoken about, I have to demand freedom and democracy for the Slovak Republic. I demand freedom and democracy for the Government of the Slovak Republic. You have no right

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to treat us on the international scene in this way. We are a sovereign state.

Naturally, we are interested in the integration into the European structures. We have declared our interest in it, and we are also meeting its requirements. Nobody, no resolution says that the Slovak Republic fails to fulfill anything or that we are lagging behind in the obligations we have accepted.

However, internal developments in our state are being interfered with. Our internal development is extremely sensitive. By starting to act against our legitimate government—and if not acting directly against it, at least openly supporting those who oppose our government—these institutions are in fact changing the fragile internal arrangement in our country. This is why I am asking what gives them the right to do so when they bear no responsibility. That responsibility is borne by us.

As regards our future partners, we do not want to bring unrest into the European Union. Until 1998 there is time to prepare and build democratic institutions. However, on this issue we have to ask them to show the same patience toward us that they did in their own case.

Since the very beginning, Slovakia has also been developing and making progress in the sphere of democracy. Nobody doubts this. In our country, democracy and the struggle for it are accompanied by a discussion that is not always gentlemanly, well-mannered, and appropriate, given the positions of people involved in it—but it is always civic [words indistinct]. It has never been and it is not accompanied by violence. We want to avoid anything of that kind.

This is why not only tolerance but also an ability and willingness to understand the other side are needed. It is undignified for such an institution as the European Parliament to put forward facts that time will prove untrue and to draw political conclusions from them.

As regards the demarches by the European Union, we are tackling this issue through consultations, and so far we have not taken any clear stances, [words indistinct] a number of new interesting facts have emerged. We are interested in meeting the prime minister of the country currently chairing the European Union and clarifying things in talks with him, as we did with Mr. Santer.

[Tvarozek] Do you think they might implement that sanction of closing down the European Union Office in Bratislava?

[Meciar] I cannot give you a yes or no answer because this is their sovereign matter and they will decide on it. I do not think that taking this step would do honor to such an institution as the European Union. I do not think this is the proper way to communicate with each other. We want to join the European Union, we want to be its useful member, to become a part of it. However, we want to join it standing up, not on our knees.

[Tvarozek] But, on the off chance of their closing down the office, what would you do then? Or is it premature to consider such a possibility?

[Meciar] It is absolutely premature.

[Tvarozek] Taking all of this into account, a visit by European Parliament deputies to Slovakia next week should have perhaps taken place a bit earlier. Is it not too late for them to come?

[Meciar] It is never too late for any dialogue, but this in fact makes the situation so absurd, taking us to Absurdistan. They are coming to investigate what they have in fact already taken a stance on. They are coming to talk about a state they have not so far visited. They are coming to investigate what is the state of democracy here, but they have already expressed their views in advance. It is a sad state of affairs when the judge is facing somebody already executed, only consequently looking for reasons why he had sentenced him. [passage omitted]

Citizen Blames U.S. for Defects in Democracy

AU1711183895 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 15 Nov 95 p 10

["Open letter" by Jaroslav Schut: "Open Letter to the White House"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Mr. Clinton: I am just an ordinary man, a citizen of the Slovak Republic. I have children, and I cannot be indifferent to the type of state in which I am going to live. I am worried about the many negative phenomena associated with our life, our democracy born in pains and with complications. I am troubled by the numerous petty quarrels that unnecessarily tax our strength and abilities. After all, this strength and these abilities could be put to much better use in the name of our children's future. I am disheartened because of the people who claim to be Slovaks but do not miss a single chance to befoul the land that bore their cradle. I get depressed when I see a Slovak traveling around the world to besmirch and defame the name of Slovaks. You know very well, my dear Mr. Clinton, that no American and no citizen of any other sovereign state would stoop to slandering his country. If there were such a person, he would discredit and disgrace himself forever, and his fellow citizens would turn away from him with disdain and in disgust. Without exaggeration, one could say that a

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strong patriotic feeling is the most natural and matter-of-course characteristic. This is so everywhere in the world, except for Slovakia. In our country, my dear Mr. President, it will be a problem to adopt even such a matter-of-course cause as is the law on the protection of the state language.

Crooked Mirror

Well, there is a lot more that troubles and distresses me, and what appears as an ugly stain on the face of the baby called "Slovakia." This was one of the reasons I so closely read the text of the demarches in which you, my dear Mr. President, expressed your anxiety over the future development of democracy in Slovakia. I am grateful to you in the name of all of our citizens for holding the fate of our democracy dear to your heart and for your concern for my small native country, a small pearl lost in the ocean of larger, mightier, and much more powerful states.

Contrary to you, however, I live here in Slovakia, and therefore I do not share your concerns about the development of our democracy. On the other hand, my dear Mr. President, I worry much more about your country. I am very concerned about the continually deteriorating situation in your country. I am saturated with worries about the future development of Western democracy. The same democracy that, in the perception of the United States and other countries with developed democratic traditions, has more than once acquired a rather grotesque expression. It is this democracy that is presented to us as a model by the countries that violate it most.

Warning Memento

Thus, if you are so anxious about the development of the situation in Slovakia, I must remind you that it is the phenomena imported from, above all, the United States and other Western countries—crime, drugs, corruption, prostitution, racism, nationalist intolerance, and regardless pursuit of profit—that bring about our biggest problems. The U.S. movies, which are, after decades of prohibition, shown with enthusiasm in all Slovak theaters and leased in our video shops, with few minor exceptions are saturated with brutality, violence, and disregard for human life—and this applies even to movies for children.

The American-style stultifying advertising flooding you from all sides brings its negative fruit, particularly with respect to the weak national feeling of my countrymen. It is completely normal for you that Americans buy exclusively "Made in U.S.A." products, but do you teach us to do the same? Not at all! You force your products on us with the help of this bombastic advertising that, as you are well aware, has great power, and very few people manage to resist it. It is a contributing factor to your economic power and our squalor. At any rate, let us continue, Mr. President. No Slovak has ever attempted an assassination at a railroad station, no Slovak has ever hijacked a plane, or released deadly gas in a subway. No one has ever killed a politician or state official in Slovakia, which certainly cannot be said about your country. A Slovak soldier has never killed on a foreign territory, while the Slovak country is strewn with graves of Slovaks killed here by foreign intruders. Are you aware, my dear Mr. President, of the atrocities committed on Slovak territory by Hungarians, for instance?

History Full of Suffering

No one has burned a foreigner alive in Slovakia, while burning immigrants alive is almost a daily practice in Germany. One could go on but that would mean copying the entire history of Western-style democracy, history full of wars, violence, cruelty, hatred, and blood. Nothing like that, my dear Mr. President, has ever happened in Slovakia. The history of Slovaks is full of wrongs and suffering imposed on us by others. We have never harmed anyone. The foot of a Slovak soldier has never stepped on foreign territory, while the U.S. soldier is walking all over the world as if he were a cowboy and the entire world were his ranch. Slovakia does not have any trauma of the past (perhaps with the exception of the purpose-oriented sustenance of the legend of the first Slovak State), while the United States has its Vietnam and Grenada. Because of all this and for many other reasons, I believe that your concern for our democracy is not necessary. Although we are well behind you in the economy (for which you are also partly responsible), as regards the positive human features, we are much better off. We do not impose suffering on others; you do. Therefore, it would be good if your country followed the example of Slovak peace-loving, regardful nature, modesty, and tolerance. The world would then be a much better place that it is today, when you rule it according to your ideas, and especially your interests.

Herewith, I express my deepest concern over the development of democracy in the United States. I expect that the Slovak Government will send you a demarche in this vein. After all, it is high time, if it is not too late already.

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Comment: Western Demarches Begin To Show Effect

AU1811161195 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Nov 95 p 4

[Commentary by Juraj Hrabko: "The Falling of Slovak Myths"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The demarches from EU countries and the United States have positively influenced the beginning of the 11th session of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR]. The Slovak National Party [SNS] politicians can repeat ad infinitum that the reason they did not put forward their proposal for the establishment of a commission to inquire whether the president committed high treason was to calm the domestic political situation. This is not only a childish excuse, but also a political defeat for the Slovak nationalists. [The real reason is that] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] refused to give support to this step in parliament. Likewise, the HZDS itself did not dare present in the plenum the Macuska commission report on the verification of Democratic Union [DU] petition sheets. And, finally, the coalition as a whole reevaluated its ban on a parliamentary debate on foreign policy, for which it had voted at the outset of the session. In other words, the pressure being brought to bear by the democratic countries is not only well-founded, but also effective. However, the fact that this time the coalition folded the fan of its activities does not mean that it has backed away from the realization of its ideas and intentions. It has just shelved them. It cannot irritate foreign institutions too much, and, whether anyone likes it or not, as long as Slovakia at least verbally demands admission into the EU or behaves differently from what is customary in the Council of Europe, it can expect their "friendly interest" also in spheres other than demarches [sentence as published]. The coalition has now decided to focus its attention on the passage of the law on the state language, which is fully sufficient for further expressions of concern, prepared, this time, at nongovernmental level. The bill is at variance not only with international law, but even with Slovak law.

The [parliamentary] session started in a nervous atmosphere. I am not thinking of the deputies' privatization feuding, even though it is important that one national myth about the SNS, its sole exclusive domain in the Slovak political arena, has fallen. It really is paradoxical, to say the least, if the wife of the SNS honorary chairman, whose way of thinking and persuading his NRSR colleagues points to the east, sets up a joint firm with Western capital, including even Czech capital [allusion to the fact that Magdalena Prokesova, wife of SNS Honorary Chairman Jozef Prokes, is co-owner of the firm Serrenit Nitra, together with Czech and West German partners]. Likewise, the myth has fallen that the NRSR chairman conducts parliamentary meetings in accordance with the law. He does not. In approving the agenda of the current session, he violated Article 75 on the NRSR Rules of Procedure. According to the wording of this article, before accepting Jan Cuper's proposal—to put on the agenda of the session the draft amendment to the law on the method of carrying out a referendum—he was to propose to parliament to "exceptionally discuss" the draft earlier than 60 days after its delivery to deputies. "The NRSR will decide on this proposal without debate" it is written at the close of the aforementioned article.

It is also impossible to bypass the words of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, not only because they were spoken at the European Forum in Berlin [on 10 November] but also because, which is no less interesting, other representatives of Slovakia have started using similar rhetoric. "Our experience is that not all of the EU countries—and not even the EU itself—engage in a dialogue with us as would befit partners. Standpoints concerning fundamental internal problems of Slovakia are taken completely without consultation with the legitimate government and representatives of the law-making body," Vladimir Meciar complained. Because it is generally known, however, that Slovak Republic representatives frequently travel abroad, it is appropriate to ask whom they actually meet there and how they represent Slovakia, apart from pleading for receptions for Vladimir Meciar. The prime minister puts Slovakia to shame when he pleads for meetings with people who simply do not want to communicate with him and will not communicate with him as long as he does not change his methods of exercising power. The instructions on how to go about it are written down very clearly in the collection of demarches addressed to the Slovak Government, and it would be necessary to start following them. Slovakia cannot remain politically isolated, and, knowing that demarches are coming from the West but tanks are coming from the East, it simply does not have much choice.

Commentary Criticizes Response to Demarches

AU1811161495 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 14 Nov 95 p 7

[Commentary by Peter Schutz: "Euroskepticism Under the Tatras"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the diplomatic interventions by the EU and the United States, the most gigantic wave of isolationism and anti-Westernism to

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date has spewed from the guts of the ruling coalition in Slovakia. The miscellaneous, more or less random, exclamations about "bridges between East and West" and "neutrality" have gained in intensity over the past two weeks. Deputy Prime Minister Kozlik's Moscow contemplations about a free trade zone or, alternatively, customs union (he denied it so "well" that he in fact confirmed it) and Meciar's own contemplations about a "continental security system" and "NATO transformation" are still fresh in our minds. And, then came the 11th plenary meeting of the National Council.

On Friday, 10 November 1995, the various members of the Bratislava diplomatic corps, who occupied the seats in the chamber's balcony, were able to see and hear for themselves that not only the innermost character of the regime that has established itself in Slovakia, but also the will of a considerable part of the parliamentary majority—on which its pro-Western policy orientation in fact relies—no longer corresponds to the state's proclaimed foreign policy priorities: integration into the EU and NATO. Unquestionably, the "digression" of the two smaller coalition groups has long been known. The forum on which it has manifested itself, however, calls for a completely different kind of attention and consideration. In other words, as of 10 November 1995, not only the exclamations made at meetings by individual Slovak National Party [SNS] or Association of Workers officials or declarations made at news conferences, but also the parliamentary presentations of entire deputies' clubs are at variance with the government's policy statement. This is a major "qualitative" shift.

True, this could be inferred mainly from independent observations because, of the Slovak "Euroskeptics," only Deputy Jozef Prokes, the deputy prime minister for European integration (!) in the second Meciar government, dared to make a coherent speech. The crux of his speech was the sentence: "If we are to enter there (the EU and NATO—author's note) at the cost of forfeiting our sovereignty, we will be forced to consider other possibilities." Of course, because there is no way that this will happen without forfeiting some sovereignty, this leading SNS representative is evidently not considering anything but the "other possibilities." This and Prokes's other "views," for example, "...we are making out that it would be absolute paradise in NATO and the EU" or "a country's admission into the community means, first and foremost, complying with the interests of those that are already there" were only startling because of the place they were made. However, his unusually uncouth and coarse attacks on the United States, Germany, and Italy came as a real shock even to the most seasoned "insiders." He did not name these states explicitly, but, in his reservations against others instructing Slovakia in democracy, he "merely" used unequivocally telling descriptions such as "a country where the homes of refugees are burned down" and so on. Foreign Minister Schenk in his address, which started off the whole debate, also resorted to a very unfortunate metaphor. That is, if the head of Slovak diplomacy dismisses the demarches as "an apparently attractive, but ephemeral affair, to which he does not intend to react," it is obvious that he has understood nothing and that they have not had the desired effect. The foreign minister of the Slovak Republic has thus downgraded the diplomatically conveyed concern and alarm of actually the whole of the Western world to the level of insignificant details that he himself has neither the time nor the desire to bother with.

The fact that Schenk is not alone in his lack of understanding was confirmed on the same day by his boss in Berlin, where, in a lecture on European integration, he made a scandalous comparison between the demarches and the "decisionmaking about us without us in 1938, 1939, and 1968," which he topped off with the rhetorical question: "Was this not enough?" According to Meciar, the EU states are "styling themselves in the role of a teacher of democracy who has the right to give marks for conduct." He attacked them for not conducting a dialogue between partners and for adopting views without consulting the legitimate government.

This and other coalition statements—of the same or a similar caliber—mean, of course, nothing less than open conflict between Slovakia and the EU and the United States. It not only looks like this, it is like this: Slovakia is responding to Western criticism with a series of its own demarches. True, they are the kind to which the portended "postdemarche" line of "counterattack is the best defense" wholly lends itself. On the day when all of these statements were made, Russian Ambassador to Slovakia Sergej Yastrzhembskiy made his own comment. In front of Slovak journalists, he cited Vladimir Meciar "as an example to other European leaders for his stance on NATO enlargement..."

Slobodnik Responds to Criticism in Demarches

AU1711183495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, by Jan Skoda; place and date not given: "The Language Law and the Basic Treaty Will Pass"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Skoda] In the parliamentary debate [following the presentation of Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk's report on the long-term tasks of Slovak foreign policy on 10 November], much

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was said about the reasons for the delivery of the EU and U.S. demarches. The idea was also voiced, an idea that even coalition representatives do not reject, that the demarches contents' concern the domestic political situation. Do you think the foreign service can play some role in this regard?

[Slobodnik] In cases such as these, elementary fairness in the sense of the well-known "Let the other side also be heard out!" requires that the bodies that had sent the demarches should ask also the Slovak Government and the official Slovak authorities for their view of the matters that are discussed in the demarches. Second, the demarches concern not the government but the Slovak Republic as a whole—that is, including the relationship between the president and the government. If someone explains them in such a way that the government is now obliged to apologize to the president, this really is a one-sided view, with which one can hardly agree. Everyone should realize that such internal conflicts between the president and the government exist in virtually every state of the former socialist camp, yet no demarches have been sent anywhere [except Slovakia] and nowhere [else] do foreign circles support one of these more or less quarreling parties. The most important thing, which the world should know, is that all of these matters are being dealt with in a constitutional way in our country. To this day, no one has taken a single step that would run counter to laws and the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. In other words, it is necessary to allow this internal situation to be resolved. However, you should take into consideration the past three or four of the president's statements, which have been not conciliatory, but outright aggressive. They want to create the impression that no democracy exists here. I consider this incorrect and, using documentation—that is, the texts of those speeches—we will try to explain abroad who is actually the source of tension.

[Skoda] How can we arrange our relations with Western partners so as to be really acceptable to them, for them to consider us a truly democratic state? What solution would you propose?

[Slobodnik] I think that this requires lengthy talks with representatives of these states and personal visits. Everyone who visited Slovakia and had the chance to convince himself personally about the real situation—in the sphere of minorities, for example—saw that Slovakia is a country where all democratic gains are being translated into practice. Media freedom? I would like to see a country in which there is greater media freedom. Here, once again, the president's great unfairness manifests itself, to use a moderate term. In an interview for the Austrian weekly PROFIL this summer, he said that the worst thing was that the opposition did not have access to public service media. In the political news programs on the radio, the ratio is 40 to 60 in the coalition's disfavor and, in television, let us say 50 to 50. Television news programs are largely confined to the genuinely uncommented presentation of news....

[Skoda] However, it is the composition of the television and radio councils that has come in for criticism in this context, and not just in our country. You chair the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and to the Central European Initiative. The proportional system of representation of the coalition and the opposition according to the election results is respected, more or less, in the composition of these two delegations. Do you not think it would be good if the same system [of proportional representation] were to be applied also in the case of the parliamentary committee for supervising the secret services, and other parliamentary bodies?

[Slobodnik] As far as control of the secret services is concerned, the question of participation by the opposition [in the parliamentary control body] will surely be resolved. I do not know when, because this is not an area that is within my purview. Regarding the television council, in the present council there is not a single member of any government coalition party. They all are Slovak intellectuals, whose "sin" is that they think in a Slovak manner. They are not Movement for a Democratic Slovakia supporters, but simply citizens for whom Slovakia is a matter close to their hearts.

[Skoda] I think, however, that the criticism is directed at the absence of any opposition representative, particularly in the committee that supervises the activity of the secret services.

[Slobodnik] Regarding the secret service, I repeat that I am convinced that this issue will be solved in the near future because it really is logical for the possibility to exist to look at the matter also from the other side. But do not ask me for a substantive reply to this question. You have to ask others, people who deal with these issues. [passage omitted]

President Ready To Sign Language Law

LD1711233595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2100 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak President Michal Kovac will conclude his three-day working visit to eastern Slovakia tonight. Pavol Sveton has more details.

[Sveton] [Passage omitted] With regard to the possible referendum on the shortening of the president's term of office, the president said he was prepared to act on

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its result, even though, according to the Constitution, he is not obliged to do so. I will act on it if in the referendum 60 to 80 percent of citizens disapprove of me, the president said.

The president took a stance on the language law passed by parliament. He said it was very important that 108 deputies [of a total of 150] voted for the bill. Given that the deputies have arrived at the conclusion that the bill is in line with the Constitution and international law and does not deprive ethnic minorities of their rights, and after I will have studied the law in detail and have heard the opinions of home and foreign experts, I will sign the law.

I will also be pleased to do so in the case of the minorities language law, the president said. [passage omitted]

Report Lists CE Objections to Language Bill

AU1811153395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Nov 95 p 1

[Article by "rej": "Council of Europe Comments on Language Bill Were Not Merely of a Technical Nature"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Council of Europe [CE] representatives' comments on the bill on the state language were not merely of a technical nature. This transpires from the minutes of the talks held by a delegation of the Slovak Government, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Katarina Tothova, with CE representatives in Strasbourg on 5 October. The text of the minutes, which also contains the CE representatives' stand on the bill, was presented to journalists by representatives of the Hungarian Coalition. According to Katarina Tothova, the CE representatives received the bill very positively and acknowledged that it does not affect the use of ethnic minorities' languages and does not contravene the Framework Agreement on the Protection of Minorities. The above document reveals, however, that the CE representatives had alerted the Slovak Government delegation to the lack of clarity and ambiguity of some passages of the bill and to the possibility of interpreting them as weakening the position of the minorities' languages. In this context, they recommended to reassess the intended cancellation of the 1990 law on the official language and to discuss, concurrently with the bill on the state language, legislation setting out the usage of the minorities' languages. They voiced objections to the establishment of a linkage between the use of the state language and loyalty toward the state. They warned that, by intervening in the sphere of privacy, the law might come into conflict with the Framework Agreement on the Protection of Minorities and that the proposed fines might be in breach of the European Charter of Human Rights. In the opinion of the CE, decisionmaking on possible fines should be within the jurisdiction of courts, and not the authorities. Similarly, according to the CE, the use of the state language and of the minorities' languages in education should be set out in a law, and not just by administrative means. The provision on local names could also be in contravention of the above norms. The CE recommended that the Slovak Republic accept the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages and that it consult the language bill with the minorities.

Daily Calls on Hungary's Neighbors To Join Forces

AU1711183595 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 15 Nov 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ondrej Hubac: "Irredentism and Trojan Horse"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There were times when members of the "master race" [reference to Hungarians] used to call us offensively *buta toths* [Hungarian for "stupid Slovaks"]. Their descendant, a certain [Miklos] Duray [chairman of the Hungarian minority Coexistence Movement], is now abusing Slovaks as dummies and idiots only because they want what all European states, including Hungary, had enshrined in law a long time ago—a state language.

People in Slovakia who are older than 80 do not recall that [when Slovakia was part of Hungary] Hungarians used to rush to Bratislava to consult us on whether, God forbid, elevating the Hungarian language to the status of the state language would not inflict any harm on Slovaks.

In the book *The Bleeding Border*, which appeared on our book market (also in a Hungarian-language version) last year, everyone who can read was able to see what regard Duray's fellow Hungarians used to show for the interests of Slovaks on the occupied southern territory, about which they are so worried today.

The very same aims are to be served by the irredentist activities of Hungary also at present. These aims are being enforced, by means of Henleinian methods [Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten German Party in Czechoslovakia in the 1930's, worked for the secession of the Sudeten and their annexation to Hitler's Germany], by the leaders of Hungarian minorities in the states neighboring on Hungary. The problem—the syndrome of Hungarian national hysteria—and the service—performing the function of the Trojan horse—are always the same. Even today, this horse is being fed by the same forces of power that want to penetrate this

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area, through Hungarian irredentism, to gain a foothold here. Once the horse gets a truss of German straw, once a bit of French forage, and is then fed to his heart's content, above all, by American oats, which are being generously served to him from the multicolor bag of international organizations and institutions.

In this situation, a solution cannot be found in concessions in the face of Hungarian aggressiveness and in the fulfillment of the steadily escalating Hungarian minority demands. The syndrome of national hysteria cannot be healed from the outside. It must be healed by every nation on its own, on the basis of the recognition that this syndrome is its own pain and a very dangerous disease. The healing process can only be assisted from the outside, by preventing Hungary from continuing to play the role of the Trojan horse of foreign interests. However, this can only be accomplished through active cooperation of all states neighboring on Hungary, through the nonaggressive suppression in self-defense of manifestations of Hungarian expansionism and irredentism on their territories, and through the uniform enforcement of equality and reciprocity between the practical minority policy of interested states and the practical minority policy of the Hungarian Republic.

Only when the political representatives of all interested states realize this will the danger of the emergence of bleeding borders in Central Europe be overcome.

'Great Indigation' Over Hungarian Remarks on Law

LD1711214795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs spoke yesterday in Budapest about the adoption of the law on the state language of the Slovak Republic. Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk reacts to his statements.

[Begin Schenk recording] I have acquainted myself, with great indignation, with the Hungarian Government's statement on the law on the state language of the Slovak Republic, adopted by the Slovak National Council on 15 November, as presented by my Hungarian colleague, Mr. Laszlo Kovacs, at a news conference on 16 November 1995.

The very name given to this law in the Hungarian Government's statement — saying that it is, I quote, the law on the protection of the Slovak language, unquote — predetermines the contents of the statement, which shows a deliberate misinterpretation of the intention of the law to regulate the use of the official language on the territory of the Slovak Republic equally for all its citizens, in accordance with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and international obligations of the Slovak Republic.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic is very surprised to see that the government of the Hungarian Republic has appropriated the right to instruct the bodies of a sovereign state, and to order them concerning issues and to what extent these may be regulated within their own country.

From the point of view of respecting the basic principle of international law on noninterference in the internal matters of another country, this approach is not fair, to say the least. Slovakia has never taken the liberty of such an approach toward Hungary, and will never do so. Slovakia expects the same to be true of its partner.

The objective of this law is to ensure, in a legitimate way, unified communication between state bodies and the citizens of the Slovak Republic in the interest of the normal functioning of the state — a matter which is a standard and normal practice in other democratic countries of the world. The purpose of the law, as stated directly in the wording of the law, is not to regulate the use of minority languages, which is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Slovak Republic in line with the adopted and generally accepted international standards.

The Hungarian Government further says in its statement that the implementation of the law, I quote, will cause tension in Slovakia, unquote, and moreover — I am quoting again — may hamper further development of relations between the two countries, which are being built on mutual trust.

Should we understand this as an indication that the government of the Hungarian Republic has already drafted a scenario for this to happen, and the law on the state language is merely to serve as a pretext for its implementation?

Such an approach is clearly at variance with the wording and the spirit of the signed basic [Slovak-Hungarian] treaty, and cannot contribute in any way to the development of good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation between Slovakia and Hungary. Nor can it serve the interests of the citizens of the two countries, including those belonging to ethnic minorities. Moreover, it is not conducive to the creation of a positive atmosphere before the ratification of this treaty by the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

The law on the state language of the Slovak Republic was adopted in the National Council by a clear majority of votes, from deputies of coalition as well as opposition parties. This testifies to the real consensus on Slovakia's political scene, and underlines the need to adopt a law on the state language of the Slovak Republic. Moreover,

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above the level of usual procedures, Slovakia has consulted on the contents of this law with the Council of Europe, and on a bilateral level, to ensure that its wording is in accord with the existing international obligations of the Slovak Republic. In this respect Slovakia has accepted several recommendations from Council of Europe experts.

Lastly, if the statement made by my Hungarian colleague at the news conference is true — namely that when adopting the aforementioned statement, Budapest did not have the final and adopted wording of the law, and was basing its statement purely on the draft law presented to the National Council of the Slovak Republic and the ensuing debate on it — then the Hungarian Government has opted for a procedure that needs no further comment. It is thus irresponsible when, as a result of internal pressure, the statement was emotionally motivated. [end recording]

Party Urges United Stand Against Language Law

LD1911233795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Civic Party of Slovakia considers cooperation among the opposition parties divided by the language law to be its most important task.

The party is of the view that the Bratislava government coalition has questioned the country's Western integration and now is building a dictatorship. Once again, fear prevails in Slovakia and, following the restriction of the rights of Hungarians, the authorities are now trying to regulate the use of the mother tongue, as well, a statement issued by the Hungarian Civic Party on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the party's foundation reads.

DS Party Congress Ends; Langos Elected Chairman

LD1811181995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Democratic Party [DS] congress ended in Zvolen today. [passage omitted]

Jan Langos was elected the new party chairman. Peter Osusky, until now the DS chairman, became the first deputy chairman. Other deputy chairmen are Frantisek Sebej, Koloman Pronay, Ivan Brndiar, and Ivan Miklos. [passage omitted]

Jan Langos said the DS will work along the lines of its new political program, according to which the DS is a civic, conservative, and nonreligious party, following the liberal values of a democratic state and an open market economy. [passage omitted]

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Keleti on Service Base for NATO Peacekeepers

LD1811101095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti has confirmed there were talks with U.S. experts on setting up an army service corps center in the vicinity of Pecs [southern Hungary] for the international troops to supervise the Bosnia peace agreement. Keleti told the radio that the service base would be set up only after a peace agreement on Bosnia was reached and only with the Hungarian parliament's approval. According to the defense minister, some 1,500 peacekeepers would spend a year in Hungarian territory. The expenses would be paid by the participants, Keleti added.

Further on Service Base

AU1811193595 Paris AFP in English 1856 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, Nov 18 (AFP)—The area around the southern Hungarian city Pecs would be the site of a supply and service base for NATO peacekeeping forces in the former Yugoslavia if a peace agreement in Dayton, Ohio, is signed, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti said Saturday.

High-ranking US officials have viewed barracks in several southern Hungarian regions to locate areas suitable for supply purposes but talks on a potential supply base were continuing, the minister said on Hungarian state radio.

"There is no decision at this stage of the talks. They only show that US circles have some interest", Keleti said.

"Hungary is ready to help implement what is to be agreed on at peace talks on the region. But we clearly have the standpoint that first, the Dayton agreement has to be signed", he added.

The radio said that the base close to Pecs, about 35 kilometres (20 miles) north of Hungary's border with Croatia, would service some 1,500 US troops, and a Pecs city clerk said that it would store no arms and would accomodate no armed soldiers.

But the Nepszabadsag daily newspaper, quoting its Washington correspondent, said the full, 60,000-strong NATO force would be gathered around Pecs once a decision on their dispatch is made.

A 20,000-strong NATO force would "immediately" set off for former Yugoslav territories from Germany if the peace accord is signed, while a further 20,000 soldiers would arrive within two weeks from an agreement being signed, the newspaper said.

The head of the parliamentary defense committee Imre Mecs told Nepszabadsag that both the transit of NATO troops and their supply would require parliamentary approval under Hungary's constitution. But he added that the approval could be passed in two days at most as the government has already prepared it.

Kovacs: Referendum Now on NATO Entry Pointless

LD1711164095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Workers' Party managed to collect more than 100,000 signatures demanding a referendum on the issue of Hungary's NATO entry. Istvan Kulcsar reports on Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs's briefing where he outlined his position on this topic.

[Kulcsar] Kovacs gave a lengthy answer. He said, among other things, that parliament must put the issue on its agenda and examine with the inclusion of legal experts what these signatures oblige the National Assembly to act upon.

However, before the start of accession talks it is not known to the government, let alone the voters, when and under what circumstances Hungary can join NATO. Therefore, it would be untimely, what is more, pointless to hold a referendum now, Kovacs opined.

French Minister Backs Country's EU Membership

LD1711223995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Michel Barnier, the French minister in charge of European affairs has been received in Budapest at the highest level. He arrived in Hungary on behalf of the French president. Michel Barnier confirmed that Paris would help Hungary to become a member of European organizations.

[Unidentified correspondent] Speaking at his press briefing, the French politician—who met Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs today—said, among other things, that Hungary has the trump cards to go forward quickly in the process of integrating into Europe. He called it particularly advantageous from Hungary's point of view that there is an accord between the governing parties and the parliamentary opposition over aspirations of integration. This is a sign of intelligence, the French minister said.

Barnier, however, did not deny that the requirements for EU accession can only be fulfilled step by step. Our country can count on Paris's support in this process because France wants to strengthen bilateral relations,

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both in the political and economic fields. In reply to a question, he said he did not know the text of the recently adopted Slovak language law, but one thing could be pointed out in general:

[Begin Barnier recording in French, with superimposed Hungarian translation] It is not compulsory for anybody to join the Union. However, those who want to get closer to this community have to accommodate themselves to European standards. [end recording]

Kovacs Says Minority Issues Not Internal Affair

LD1811142095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk firmly rejected the Hungarian statements criticizing the Slovak language law. Karoly Avar asked the most competent person about the issue.

[Begin recording] [Avar] Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs is on the line. Slovak Government circles reacted surprisingly harshly, or perhaps too harshly, to the European Parliament's statement, and above all, to that of the Hungarian Government and one of your remarks. The Slovak foreign minister says that the Hungarian Government seems to appropriate the right to instruct bodies of a sovereign state. What do you think of it?

[Kovacs] First of all I would like to stress that the assertion or violation of minority rights has not been an internal affair of any country for several years. It is laid down in many international documents that the international community has the right to pay attention to minority issues. It is laid down in several documents adopted and signed by Slovakia, too. Thus, interference is out of the question.

However, we cannot speak of giving instructions, either. By carefully reading the Hungarian Government statement, one will see that it contains no instructions, merely the Hungarian Government's opinion about the language law that does indeed restrict, and rather strongly, the possibilities and rights of the minorities in Slovakia, among them the 600,000 Hungarians, to use the mother tongue.

[Avar] What is the next step? What can the Hungarian Government do now?

[Kovacs] The Hungarian Government will turn to international organizations. It will inform them on its stance and initiate consultations among Hungary, Slovakia, and international organizations. As both countries are members, the Council of Europe, for instance, provides an opportunity for this. In our view, this language law violates several Council of Europe norms and documents, including the framework agreement on the protection of minorities also signed by Slovakia and approved by the Slovak Parliament. [end recording]

TV Discussion on Minority Language Issue

LD1911233695 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Studio discussion with Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the prime minister's office and head of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders, chaired by Zoltan Csaky; includes recordings of telephoned questions from editors of Hungarian-language media in neighboring countries; from the "Weekly Courier" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Csaky] Good evening, Zoltan Csaky is greeting you. I also welcome in our studio Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs and Dr. Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the prime minister's office.

The main topic of our program is our minority policy—the protection of Hungarians living in minority—which is one of the important elements of the three-legged Hungarian foreign policy. [passage omitted]

The state language law passed by the Slovak parliament—according to which minority languages, among them the Hungarian, have been squeezed out of official life—stirred up a storm both in Hungary and abroad in the middle of last week. [passage omitted]

Mr. Minister, the opposition in Hungary has assessed the Pozsony [Bratislava] parliament's decision mainly as Hungarian foreign policy' failure. According to certain opinions, the government's conciliatory policy has failed, for Hungarian diplomacy did not take into consideration the fact that endeavors for exclusive power for the [majority] nation [nemzeti kizarolagossag] in the domestic political life of neighboring countries is a factor of legitimacy, as the opposition claims.

What is your answer to this?

[Kovacs] I do not think that the government has pursued a conciliatory policy in a sense that it has made a compromise with certain nationalist endeavors, as the opposition obviously means this. Regarding its relations with Slovakia as well as Romania—and in shaping our relations with our neighbors, in general—the government's cornerstone has been that normal relations which are based on trust is a mutual interest. Let us look at this from Hungary's point of view. Why is this in our interest?

This is in our interest, because these kind of relations contribute to the region's stability and security, thus it meets Hungary's security policy interests.

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On the other hand, it is obvious that really wide-ranging economic cooperation can only prevail if political relations are balanced; therefore, this policy meets our economic interests.

Third, if the political atmosphere is normalized and there are contacts between the two countries, it will be more likely that minority efforts will be treated with goodwill, or with more significant goodwill, or with less bad intention, and there will be more readiness to meet these demands; or if problems occur in the minority's situation, there will be an opportunity to raise these problems. In the lack of contacts, there is no opportunity to raise these problems.

Fourth, this is the only conduct which can expect international recognition and support, this is the only conduct through which we can prove that Hungary is able to settle its disputed matters with its neighbors and that Hungary is mature enough to join euro-atlantic institutions.

That is to say, we had at least four reasons to choose this path. The fact that the Slovak parliament passed the language law is not a consequence of this policy, but it took place despite this policy.

[Csaky] That is to say, when the basic treaty was signed you did not expect that the Slovak Government would pass the language law. What did you expect at that time?

[Kovacs] Naturally, we did not expect this, since this language law is explicitly contrary to the basic treaty's text, certain paragraphs of the minority clause. [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] Perhaps this government policy over the past one and a half years was good to make sure, at least, that the West realizes that it is not Budapest which is provoking the conflict; and that when Budapest speaks out in the interest of the Hungarian communities beyond the borders, the intention behind this is not to alter the borders, but only to change a human rights situation, a minority rights situation. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] So far endeavors for exclusive power for the [majority] nation have prevailed in the Slovak foreign policy. I do not want to go into details. Before the [Slovak language] law was passed, Csaba Tabajdi made a statement: If the language law is passed in Bratislava, this will signify a turning point in Hungarian foreign policy. Would our appeal to international forums mean this turning point?

[Tabajdi] Let me be more specific. In my view, the main direction of Hungarian foreign policy remains correct. There is no other option than holding talks. It is another question, however, that this is a warning sign, that Budapest will have to conduct more active diplomatic work in the background, both in international organizations and in the course of bilateral talks. I also think that we have to be more unambiguous and firm with our partners, for Budapest's conciliatory intention may have been misinterpreted so far. [passage omitted]

At the same time, the trap should be avoided by which the West draws the conclusion from these talks that basically everything is all right in Hungarian-Slovak and Hungarian-Romanian relations. Talks should not conceal the problems. We have to be firm and cool at the same time.

[Kovacs] It is worth looking at possible means available for Hungary, or any country, in general. I will simplify the answer, in order to be understood more easily.

One of the options is talks, diplomacy, which requires great patience and which, naturally, does not lead to results from one day to another.

The other option is restricting or freezing relations, cancelling visits or, perhaps—as has been recommended in relations with Romanian by an opposition party leader who almost thinks he is already a prime minister—breaking off diplomatic relations. This will have no effects if the two countries are about on the same scale. [passage omitted]

The third option is confrontation. If somebody sensibly considers Hungarian-Slovak and Hungarian-Romanian relations, the second and third options will have to be ruled out, and only the first option is left. [passage omitted]

[Jozsef Szilvassy, chief editor of Bratislava Hungarian-language paper UJ SZO] Significant political forces in the [Slovak] Government coalition are looking in the direction of the east, Russia. In this situation they will not give up the idea of a nation-state and will want to put the language law and other discriminatory measures into effect even at the expense of giving up western orientation and partnership. My question is whether the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty can be effective and credible in this situation.

[Kovacs] There is no disagreement between me and Mr. Szilvassy. [passage omitted] I can also see that there is no complete unity even among the government parties in Slovakia regarding the question of whether the euro-atlantic orientation is the correct orientation for Slovakia. [passage omitted] However, it is true that this is Slovakia's objective interest, whether or not the two smaller parties of the government coalition agree with it. [passage omitted]

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[Tabajdi] We must signal to the West that the conflict between Hungary and Slovakia or the conflict between Hungary and Romania is not unmanageable, that we can manage it and that there has been some progress, albeit, small and not significant, in these relations. On the other hand, we cannot hide or sweep under the carpet those yet unresolved human rights and minority problems which exist not because they are spoken about by Budapest but because, as U.S. Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff said, Slovakia and Romania have not been observing European human rights and minority standards.

[Zoltan Boros, chief editor of the Hungarian section of Romanian Television] This autumn, a delegation of the [Hungarian] Ministry of Culture and Education travelled to Romania to study the Romanian education law. The head of the delegation, State Secretary Maria Honti, gave an interview to the Hungarian language program of Romanian Television and critized very resolutely the nature of this law which limited and centralized minority education. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] I fully agree with State Secretary Mrs. Honti's criticism of the adoption of the Romanian education law. It is the Hungarian position, it is the Foreign Ministry position, too. This warns us to have even greater caution during negotiations. However, we do not draw the lesson from this that we should cease negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Zsolt Galfalvi, chief editor of Bucharest A HET] What possibilities does Hungarian diplomacy have? [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] I think that Zsolt Galfalvi raised to a very important issue. How can we be faster? First, we must have suitable briefing papers at last, in a world language and in a comprehensible style, specific to the medium we target. Second, there should be a suitable scientific basis, at last. The Teleki Institution has failed and, if there is no other way, we must create another institution because it is unacceptable that Hungarian minority policy has no scientific institutional base for the preparation of these briefing papers and analyses.

Third, Hungary must have a very good knowledge of the international minority solutions, autonomy models—this purpose has been been served by one of our recent conferences. Fourth, there is a need for a lobby network. We have started to build up this lobby network with the help of the Foreign Ministry and the World Federation of Hungarians.

In other words, when Slovakia adopts a language law, we should have an authorized English-language translation, a suitable comparison with European documents and a lobby network which immediately starts lobbying in such a situation. [passage omitted]

[Bela Marko, chairman of Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR] The Slovak language law was created—and I think that it is a very important aspect—when the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty had already been concluded, even if it had not been ratified by the Slovak parliament.

Obviously, this places the Hungarian Government in a very difficult situation. I think that, regrettably, the Hungarian Government must review its approach to this issue in some way. For, it may be demonstrated fairly clearly that the basic treaty and the past dialogue between the Hungarian and Slovak Governments have not had any impact whatsoever, really.

I do not think that the argument that the basic treaty has not yet been ratified can hold water. For, what would happen if in a couple of months hence the treaty is ratified? Will this language law be annulled in Slovakia?

Regrettably, this is a proof of the fact that no powerful compulsive forces exist—forces which could prevent deprivations of this kind, which could prevent the adoption of language laws of this kind, for example. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] Let me refer to Bela Marko's remarks. He himself said shortly after the signing of the Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty that they, the UDMR, would be satisfied with a basic treaty such as this; with a basic treaty which referred, point by point, to international documents guaranteeing and defending the rights of minorities.

It seems therefore that he, too, seriously considered the basic treaty. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] When will Hungarians be in a situation to initiate things? [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] Despite the efforts of the Hungarian Government, the situation of the Hungarian minorities has worsened in several countries and this places a continuing responsibility on the shoulders of the Hungarian Government. Namely, no matter how difficult the year 1996 will be, I hope that the government side and parliament will support in the budget debate those proposals which aim at increasing the budget subsidy to the Hungarians beyond the borders, the Illyes Foundation, and the Handshake Foundation.

It is no joy to request this because, after all, this support should be granted by the Slovak, Romanian, and Serb states. However, it is our national duty to tackle these tasks.

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Federation Minister Sacirbegovic Offers To Resign

'Bad Peace' Better Than War

LD1811115695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1131 GMT 18 Nov 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 18 (TANJUG) — Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic of the Muslim-Croat Federation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has offered his resignation to Muslim Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic.

Agencies said Sacirbegovic had indicated he would resign on Friday evening in informal talks with reporters who are covering the peace talks in Dayton.

Sacirbegovic criticized the agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina which was being discussed by the delegations of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and Bosnian Muslims, but denied he was resigning in protest against that agreement.

He said some people were impatient to conclude an agreement which was not good and that he was not satisfied with the way the talks were progressing, but that 'a bad peace is better than a war.'

The British News Agency REUTER pointed out that there were strong rumors that Sacirbegovic and Silajdzic had split over the issue of compromises which should be made to secure peace in Bosnia, wherein Silajdzic is said to insist on a strong central government.

Muslim Radio Sarajevo said on Saturday that Muslim-Croat Federation President Kresimir Zubak, who is also in Dayton, had also resigned because he was not pleased with the proposal for the territorial division of Bosnia.

Offer 'Not Connected' With Talks

LD1811120395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Muhamed Sacirbegovic, minister of foreign affairs, has tendered his resignation to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, because, as he said, he felt that his function should be assumed by someone else from the Bosnian-Croat Federation if it (?succeeds), according to B-H PRESS.

Reports from REUTER state that Sacirbegovic said that his resignation was not connected with the peace talks in Dayton. Sacirbegovic feels that the peace talks will succeed [words indistinct].

Does Not Want To Be 'Obstacle'

AU1811202695 Paris AFP in English 2019 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 18 (AFP) — Intensive peace talks in Dayton, Ohio, are likely to end Sunday [19 November], Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic told official Bosnian radio late Saturday.

"We certainly expect this (peace talks) to finish very quickly. We have got information to this respect from the American side. We expect to know the results tomorrow (Sunday)," Sacirbegovic said in a radio interview.

Bosnia's foreign minister was being interviewed after his offer to resign to make way for a Croat in the Bosnian Croat-Moslem federation leadership following the peace deal.

"Since the Croat side demands the post of either prime minister or foreign minister in order to find a solution, I offered my resignation. Nobody, including myself, can be an obstacle to the success of the federation," Sacirbegovic said.

Bosnia's federation is one of the two political entities that will make up the post-war republic. The Bosnian Serbs' breakaway state, Republika Srpska, is the other.

Meanwhile, more clues to the likely shape of a peace deal for Bosnia emerged late Saturday. Since the talks began on November 1, there has been a virtual media blackout with few details escaping the cloak of secrecy surrounding the negotiations.

Official Bosnian radio, quoting "sources close to the Bosnian delegation" attending the US-brokered talks, gave some details of who will get which towns in the war-torn republic.

According to the radio, Mrkonjic Grad, a town in western Bosnia captured by Bosnian Croat forces in October during a joint government-Croat offensive will be returned to the Bosnian Serbs.

Another city, Doboj, which government forces had hoped to capture in an offensive a month ago, will remain in Serb hands.

Possession of the northern Bosnian city, which had a pre-war Moslem majority, is key to controlling the Posavina corridor, another slice of territory which the Serbs will keep, according to the radio report.

"On the issue of the Posavina, the (Bosnian) delegation has been brought to a dead end street. (Serbian President Slobodan) Milosevic will not give it up," the radio said.

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Deciding who controls the Posavina corridor, which links Serb- held parts of northern and eastern Bosnia to Serbia proper, has always been a major stumbling block in previous peace negotiations.

Likewise, the territorial link between Sarajevo and the government-held Gorazde enclave in eastern Bosnia was another major obstacle that bedevilled earlier international mediators. Bosnian radio, quoting the same sources, said a territorial corridor would be established, but "we do not know how wide it will be."

Interviewed On Reasons for Offer

LD1811134595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 18 Nov 95

[By Tihomir Vinkovic in Dayton, Ohio]

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks in Dayton are continuing. Following the signing of the agreement on the federation, an agreement was reached on the reintegration of eastern Slavonia. However, very significant things are happening regarding the implementation of the agreement on the federation. It has just been learned that Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of Bosnia- Herzegovina, has tendered his resignation. I asked Muhamed Sacirbegovic why he submitted his resignation.

[Begin Sacirbegovic recording] The fact is that the federation is a success that should not be missed. For the federation to succeed, it is necessary that a very important position in the federation be given to a Bosnian Croat. This could be the president of the state, the prime minister of the state or republic, or the foreign minister. It was an honor for me to be in a situation in which I could offer my resignation and to make it possible for a Bosnian Croat to take my place and to feel that the Bosnian Croats have a real role in the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I also think it is important that it is understood that no individual alone is important for the success of the state, and I believe it is sometimes necessary to learn the lesson that certain individuals have to be sacrificed [neke licnosti treba da se zrtvuju] in the interests of the state. In this context, I have great pleasure and I really believe that my resignation will contribute to the success of the Federation and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

Thank you, Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic. The talks in Dayton are continuing with intensive meetings between U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and the representatives of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia. It is expected that the talks will end in three to four days. Although the Americans have indicated through State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns that the talks are not in their final phase, or rather that a solution is not so close, all other observers indicate that agreement will be reached by Monday at the latest.

Federation's Zubak, Tadic Offer Resignations

Zubak To Resign 'Rather Than Sign'

AU1711200795 Paris AFP in English 2000 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 17 (AFP) — The Croat president of Bosnia's Moslem-Croat federation has offered his resignation rather than sign a peace deal being worked out in the United States, the Croatian news agency HINA said Friday.

HINA did not say whether or not Kresimir Zubak's resignation had been accepted by the "parliament" of Herceg-Bosnia, the self-styled Croat entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina which effectively decides on the Croat representative in the federation.

Quoting Pavo Gobas, a "deputy" in the "parliament," HINA said Zubak had sent a letter to the assembly in which he "offers his resignation because he does not wish to sign what he is being asked to" sign at the U.S.-brokered talks in Dayton, Ohio.

HINA said that "parliament" speaker Ivan Bender refused to allow the letter to be read out in public. But a western source in Mostar, seat of the Bosnian Croat authority, confirmed the letter existed.

Zubak has twice said this week he will not sign a peace deal being prepared in Dayton because he says it forces the Bosnian Croats to give up land in the northeast of the country to rebel Serbs.

The Serbs are demanding that a narrow land corridor linking their territories in eastern and western Bosnia be enlarged at the Croats' expense.

Zubak last Saturday signed an agreement with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic stengthening the Moslem-Croat federation which was set up in March 1994 and links the country's Moslem and Croat-led areas.

Justice Minister's 'Dissatisfaction'

LD1811221895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Tadic, justice minister in the government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who is taking part in the team of experts with our delegation in Dayton, has resigned in writing from his post. The reason for his resignation is the same as that in the case of Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation — his

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dissatisfaction with the solutions offered for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly those regarding the position and status of Bosanska Posavina.

It has also been learned that the post of minister of foreign affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be taken up by someone of Croat nationality, while minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic will take up a significant post in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Federation Vice President Ganic on Resignations

AU2011095295 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 95 p 2

[Report by Ana Kaurin: "Milosevic Is Playing Tactics and Cooking Up Something"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb — After Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, and Justice Minister Mate Tadic tendered their resignations and after the talks entered the final stage, we spoke to Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the night before last. He told us, among other things, the following:

"I think that Milosevic primarily wants the sanctions lifted. Otherwise, he is playing tactics and cooking up something to weaken the negotiations. The people from the Bosnian Posavina have great hopes in Mr. Zubak and hope that he will not accept that the territory of the Bosnian Posavina, in which the Croats have always constituted the majority, be given to the Serbs. Minister Tadic also takes the view that the Serbs should not be given a corridor and the traditional Croat territories. At the negotiations, the Serbs have given away the area around Glamoc in order to retain the best quality soil in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I hope that the resignation by Mr. Zubak will not be accepted and that his views will be taken into account," Ganic said.

Regarding the resignation by Minister Sacirbegovic, Ganic said: "We are trying to reach an agreement with the Croats with which they will be satisfied in all respects. We Bosniaks cannot expect to have both the prime minister and the foreign minister at the central level of authority. The majority of functions will soon be transferred to the federal government."

Peace Talks in Ohio Reaching Final Stage

Bosnian 'Sources' Leak Details

LD1811202195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received Nada Selimovic's latest report. She is reporting about details regarding the Dayton negotiations.

[Selimovic] The outcome of the peace negotiations will be decided within the next 12 hours; we learned this from sources close to the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation. Tomorrow morning, central European time, we should know if the negotiations have collapsed or a peace agreement is signed.

The final stage has nevertheless been approached with old, unresolved problems. As far as Sarajevo is concerned, two options are being considered — the city can belong to the federation, or it can be a district comprising nine municipalities, the latter being the more likely outcome. Sarajevo will be free, one way or another, President Izetbegovic said prior to meeting Christopher, the sources close to the negotiations say.

Gorazde will get a territorial link with Sarajevo. The question is, how wide will the corridor be, and how much security can be achieved on its surrounding territory? As far as Posavina is concerned, the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation has been cornered. Namely, President Milosevic has listed two reasons why he has not given up on Posavina. There are about 200,000 Serbs in this area; some are native citizens, and some are refugees from western Slavonia and the Knin area. I cannot [word indistinct], Milosevic said.

The second reason is that he and President Tudjman had agreed on this, something that was speculated about in the past and used as an argument by Milosevic on several separate occasions, the sources close to the negotiations say.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation is still trying to secure the same status for Brcko as envisaged under the contact group's plan. Mrkonjic-Grad and Doboj would be under Serb control. It is evident that Mrkonjic-Grad had to be surrendered, although the U.S. stand was that the Bosnia-Herzegovina government did not have to surrender territories under its control. Bihac and Jajce will have a land link. Visegrad will, in all probability, remain under Serb control, reporters speculate. There are still some unresolved details, including the constitutional principles. This refers, above all, to the final shape of a future parliament. Whatever happens next, when you wake up tomorrow morning you will know the result, which will be pretty bitter in either case —

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the peace negotiations ending in failure, or in a signed peace agreement. The odds stand at 50/50.

As far as Mr. Sacirbegovic is concerned, he gallantly offered his resignation if it facilitated the implementation of the federation, President Izetbegovic said in a comment on the foreign minister's move, the sources close to the Bosnia-Herzegovina negotiating team say.

Rifts within the delegations are totally out of the question. The resignation has not been discussed. It is seen as a goodwill gesture toward the federal partner, President Izetbegovic believes.

President Izetbegovic on Progress

LD1911201495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Shortly before our news bulletin we spoke with Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, president of our country's presidency. From this conversation we have selected several pieces of information.

President Izetbegovic says: The talks in Dayton yesterday went on almost throughout the night. A number of issues still unresolved are of crucial importance. This includes the maps, and the situation surrounding them is still uncertain. As for the Posavina corridor, the stands of the Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serb sides are diametrically opposed. The Serb side insists on the widening of the corridor. President Izetbegovic is of the view that the current positions remain widely apart and says there is no solution in sight, as our delegation is not prepared to make concessions.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation is satisfied with some of the solutions. Some progress over Gorazde was made in the talks between Izetbegovic and Milosevic. At the moment the American delegation is in talks with the Serb side. President Izetbegovic thinks that the talks are at the crucial stage when the most difficult issues must be resolved. The president, however, expressed the hope that the problems will be resolved in Dayton.

The Americans are exerting no pressure on the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, but the impression is that their interest will diminish considerably if the negotiations were to fail.

There are no major discrepancies among the negotiators over the constitutional principles, and the indications are that a satisfactory solution should be expected. A peace agreement would be followed by large economic assistance for the renewal and reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by the lifting of the arms embargo in order to achieve military balance, and by mutual recognition of all the new states of former Yugoslavia. The peace agreement would also contain provisions for special commissions for war crimes and refugees to include prominent world politicians, or rather personalities.

These are just some of the statements made by President Izetbegovic shortly before we came on the air.

'Major Issues' Still Unresolved

AU1911204595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Interview with TANJUG correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic in Dayton by announcer Spomenka Jovic in Belgrade on 19 November — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Jovic] Esteemed viewers, we have a direct link with Dayton now. TANJUG special correspondent Zoran Jevdjovic is there. Colleague Jevdjovic, good evening, rather, good morning to you. We have information that State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns has announced that the talks in Dayton will continue until about midnight U.S. time, that is, until morning Yugoslav time. Does that mean that the peace agreement has finally been drawn up?

[Jevdjovic] I can briefly tell you about the factual situation, and about what we have been told by State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns at the news conference that ended some 10 minutes ago here. As you can see, the time difference here is quite something. The working day has only just started here, and the morning sessions have only just been completed.

Briefly, the conclusion could be as follows: The U.S. mediators have concluded that there is no point in continuing the negotiations, and that today is practically the last day of talks here in Dayton, at Wright-Patterson Air Base, which you can see behind me. This practically means that the talks will continue with full intensity today as they did last night late into the night, with the aim of getting the negotiators to reach an agreement and overcome certain major difficulties that have not been solved yet, difficulties that have been the source of misunderstandings from the start of the conference.

According to Nicholas Burns, so far one cannot say for sure whether the conference will succeed, but it is certain that over the next 10 hours some crucial decisions will have to be made by all the representatives here from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. This practically means that, as it has been announced, tomorrow morning U.S. time, that is, in the afternoon by Yugoslav time, it will be known whether the negotiators have managed to reach an agreement on the future of Bosnia after 19 days of talks at Wright- Patterson Air Base. For the time being, we have to add, there are still some major issues to be solved. Our viewers will find it

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interesting that these are demands that have been coming most frequently from the Muslim delegation, and concern changes to their approach to territorial issues, constitutional issues, and so on. Our representatives, on the other hand, have remained principled and in line with the agreements reached in Geneva and New York. In that sense, our principled position has remained unchanged, and the Yugoslav delegation has done everything it could within its abilities, within what has been agreed earlier, for an agreement to be reached, for a compromise to be made wherever possible.

I should also add that the impression among the U.S. negotiators is that there is every chance that an agreement will be reached today, and the result announced tomorrow.

[Jovic] We know that the closest aides to U.S. President Clinton are in Dayton. President Clinton himself is expected. Is this an announcement of sorts of a grand peace ceremony?

[Jevdjovic] Well, you see, colleague, to judge by what we have been told here, that ceremony is supposed to be held tomorrow at 1000 [0900 GMT] U.S. time. The results of the negotiations will be announced then. In case of a positive outcome of the negotiations, which are still under way, there would be a ceremony where the agreement would be initialed. It would later be signed, most likely at the conference in Paris. According to unofficial reports, U.S. President Clinton would follow this initialing here in Dayton.

[Jovic] One more thing: President Milosevic has received many messages of support from the country. We have also heard that U.S. citizens have also sent him messages of support.

[Jevdjovic] Yes, I can tell you that during this period a great number of letters, telegrams of support, and similar greetings have arrived here at Dayton at the address of our delegation, primarily from U.S. citizens but also from people from other parts of the world. Of course, there has been a number of telegrams and letters of support from immigrant organizations and associations of our citizens that live here in the United States. Most of these greetings carry best wishes for peace in Bosnia, for stability in the Balkans, and almost all of them hail the efforts by President Milosevic and his attempts at persevering in the policy of peace for the establishment of stable conditions in the Balkans.

'Main Accord' on Constitution Agreed

LD1911222995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2157 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] As we have heard from our reliable, well-informed sources close to the Croatian negotiating delegation in Dayton, the main accord on the constitution of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina was agreed at 1900 this evening.

By that time the supplements relating to military issues, elections, and humanitarian issues were also agreed.

During the negotiating marathon overnight the delegations will have to agree on some details of the maps relating to a part of Gorazde, a part of Sarajevo, and the Posavina corridor.

The future constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina state will allow the two entities to establish parallel links with neighboring states in the spheres of economy, culture, science, and so on.

However, no integration of the two entities with other states will be allowed.

As we have learned, the delegation of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Croats, including Messrs Zubak and Prlic, is satisfied with the constitutional position of the Croat people in both the federation and the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Just to remind you, we received these pieces of information directly from Dayton where many journalists are still only guessing the nature of the outstanding issues.

Spokesman 'Not Optimistic'

AU2011120695 Paris AFP in English 1042 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 20 (AFP) — Bosnian officials predicted there would be no agreement announced at peace talks in Dayton, Ohio, where U.S. officials have promised Monday either to unveil a deal or explain the ongoing impasse.

"I am not optimistic that we will have a deal today in Dayton but I am confident that this peace process will end up with a solution," Mirza Hajric, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said Monday in Sarajevo.

His pessimism was backed up by reports by the SRNA news agency out of Belgrade which quoted a Bosnian Serb negotiator at the Dayton talks who warned differences were still "as big" as at the start of the negotiating process.

Both the Serb negotiator, who requested anonymity, and Hajric, who is in daily touch with the Bosnian delegation

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in Dayton, said a key remaining dispute was over the Posavina corridor in northeastern Bosnia, a strip that connects Serb territories in western Bosnia with Serbia proper.

Hajric said he had the feeling this key issue would not be settled by the time of the deadline.

"There are still some issues where we differ so much. The Serbs want to widen the Posavina corridor and that is compeletely against what we want," he said.

The Serb negotiator, meanwhile, was quoted as warning: "There will be no agreement in Dayton if the Moslem side does not make any concessions."

The Serb source said other problems were Bosnian Moslem demands for an outlet to the Sava River, which runs along the border between Bosnian and Croatia, and for control of "a few cities" in the west and east of Bosnian that are now under Serb control.

SRNA said the Serb delegation had sent a letter to U.S. mediator Richard Holbrooke warning that the Serb side "will not accept an agreement that does not satisfy our minimum requirements."

U.S. officials said by 1500 GMT Monday they would make an announcement on whether all outstanding issues had been settled and an agreement initialled or hold a press conference to explain the reasons for the talks' failure, U.S. State Department Spokesman Nicholas Burns said.

The Posavina corridor is the key to the long-term survival of the Bosnian Serbs' rebel state. Under an earlier peace plan, the corridor was long and narrow but the Serbs are demanding it be widened at the expense of the government and Croatian sides, Hajric said.

Other issues such as the future status of Sarajevo and the corridor to government-held Gorazde in eastern Bosnian were close to an agreement the official added.

Hajric predicted however that differences incapable of being resolved in Dayton would finally be ironed out. "We will come back and then go back to Paris to finish everything," he said.

It is anticipated that a major peace conference will be held in the French capital in about a fortnight for the signing of an overall deal to end the three and a half year war in Bosnia.

Serbs Demand Muslim Concessions

LD2011092495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0121 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dayton, 20th November (SRNA) — SRNA has learned from reliable sources that the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS] delegation has sent a letter to Richard Holbrooke, chief mediator at the Dayton negotiations, with a warning that the RS will accept no agreement unless it satisfies the minimum of its interests.

"We are entering the final stages, the final hours of the negotiations, but the differences are still as big as at the beginning," a member of the Serb negotiating team said, adding that big differences over territorial issues exist between the Serb and Muslim sides. According to him, the Muslim side still insists on access to the Sava River, opposes the Serb corridor in Posavina, and wants some towns in western RS and in the Drina River valley [Podrinje] to be included in the Muslim-Croat federation.

There will be no agreement in Dayton unless the Muslim side is prepared to make concessions, the RS representative said. He said that the differences over the constitutional arrangements are smaller than those over the territorial issues.

It has also been learned that the sides in the conflict are yet to be presented with maps, and that as far as Serb access to the sea is concerned, it still remains only a promise. [passage omitted]

Muslims 'Hindering' Agreement

LD2011004295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0034 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dayton, Ohio, Nov. 19 (TANJUG) - U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher was throughout Sunday afternoon and late evening trying to persuade the Muslim delegation at the Dayton peace talks to acept the peace agreement and to definitely put a stop to the Bosnia war.

U.S. State Department Spokesman Nicholas Burns informed reporters Sunday night that Christopher has on Sunday morning had a talk of some length with head of the Yugoslav delegation, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and then had lunch at noon and lengthy talks with head of the Muslim delegation Alija Izetbegovic.

After a brief recess, Christopher on Sunday afternoon continued talks with Izetbegovic and his Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic.

By the time this report was being sent, half an hour after midnight Yugoslav time [2330 GMT], these talks have not been completed.

It was at this time perfectly clear, although Burns would not say this at the news conference, that it was the Muslim side which was 'hindering' the talks and that

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the concluding of peace agreement for the most part now depended on the Muslim side.

The negotiators and mediators would add the final touches to the peace documents and do the last editing from midnight until 10 a.m. (Nov. 20 at 1500 GMT) when the closing ceremony was scheduled to take place.

Asked by reporters what if the deal was not struck, Burns said hopes were that this would not happen and that then a news conference would be held at 10 a.m. instead of a peace-proclaiming ceremony.

He said that in any case the talks must end on Sunday.

This stand has also been agreed on by all Contact Group for Bosnia members and Christopher has conveyed this to the negotiating teams.

Christopher has apparently said that 19 days was ample time to negotiate and reach accord.

Burns also set out that in these last efforts, maps and constitutional arrangements were the main stumbling blocks.

These issues were in fact being insisted on by the Muslim delegation. This would mean that the Muslims were still trying to defend a single Bosnia.

Conveying the stand of the mediators at the current talks, Burns said there would not be any partial solution but a comprehensive and complete peace agreement.

The next meeting with reporters, Burns said, would be before Sunday Midnight (Nov. 20 at 0500 GMT).

Correspondent Analyzes Peace Talks' Process

AU1911160495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Report by correspondent Borislav Lalic from New York]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] When the Dayton peace negotiations started 20 days ago, everyone knew that they would be hard, tense, and uncertain, but few believed that the negotiating process would go on for such a long time.

It is a country that is at stake, one local commentator tried to explain, reminding his readers that the most difficult issue from the start in Ohio has been the one on how to divide Bosnia, where to draw the line that will separate the territories of the two sides. Like every peace deal, this one in Ohio has been built on the basis of compromise that has not been easy. The search for compromise, as THE WASHINGTON POST editor notes, seemed agonizing at times. One had to find a compromise between two diametrically opposed visions of the future Bosnia: The Muslims [Bosnia-Herzegovina Government] keep on blindly and persistently insisting on a unified Bosnia of their own, and the Serbs want their own territory and their own state in that Bosnia, whatever it may turn out to be like. The third side in this irreconcilable conflict, the Croats, has been silently waiting, even though everyone knows that a unified Bosnia is far from its heart and even further from the interests of the Croatian leadership in Zagreb.

The war broke out in Bosnia over this issue, and the fate of the negotiations in Ohio depends on this. The talks have reached the end; they are a step away from an agreement. The Muslims are again the obstruction. The Muslims simply do not dare sign the peace agreement. This fear comes from the undisputed truth which the Muslim delegation must now face. This truth is as follows: The Muslims started the civil war in Bosnia because they wanted their own unified Bosnia, and the war ended with that Bosnia having to be divided into two state entities that are equal and independent, and with almost no perspective of ever being united again. Also, the Muslim side is no longer sure of its own state entity, since the Croats in the federation between the Muslims and the Croats do not look to Sarajevo but rather to Zagreb.

Alija Izetbegovic and his followers have now obviously understood this fully, but it is too late now. The war must end as every war ends. It is up to them to decide today whether they will accept peace or continue to wage war. But with whom, local observers here wonder. As far as the U.S. side is concerned, particularly since the talks have been led to a crisis by this Muslim intransigent attitude, the Muslims have been given a very clear and loud warning. This warning consists of two points: The first one is the fact that the Clinton administration has definitely decided that the war in Bosnia has to end, and the second one is that now that the Serbs and the Croats have agreed to establish peace and normalize their relations, it is clear that there will be no more war in the Balkans, that peace is inevitable.

The Yugoslav delegation at Dayton, led by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, has from the start insisted that the negotiations should be focused on those issues that led to the talks — that a peace agreement is reached — and that all the other issues and additional amendments should be left aside. That is the only way to reach peace. [passage omitted]

From our Yugoslav point of view, and not only ours, the peace package from Ohio does not end with drawing the borders between the two state units, and the constitutional arrangements for the future Bosnia, that is, the future common state. The question of the suspension of

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the sanctions against our country is also a part of that package. The international community circles, particularly the Contact Group, say that this issue is one of the significant elements not only for the establishment of peace but also for its stabilization. They say that the sanctions will be suspended the moment the Ohio peace agreement is signed, that is, before the start of the peace conference in Paris, which is supposed to be held at the beginning of December if all goes well in Dayton. As we were told by Russian Ambassador Sergei Lavrov, the Contact Group countries in the United Nations have already drafted a resolution for the suspension, that is, the lifting of the sanctions against our country. We are now waiting for the news from Ohio, Lavrov says. When they tell us the news, we will immediately put the resolution through the standard procedure in the Security Council, since this body decides on the lifting of the sanctions just as it decided to impose them three and a half years ago. The resolution on the solution to the problem of eastern Slavonia, western Srem, and Baranja is also waiting for an agreement in Ohio. The Security Council started to debate this resolution last Thursday.

Everyone is waiting for news from Ohio. Very few people want to believe that surprising news could possibly emerge from there. The international community and the negotiating sides have invested too much into this peace process to allow peace to slip out of their hands just like that.

Commentary: 'Very Little' Justice at Peace Talks

AU1811175095 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 95 p 7

[Report by Mario Marusic: "Price of Dayton Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mostar — How founded are the sudden optimistic forecasts that a peace agreement on the future organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be reached only 48 to 72 hours from U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's return to the Wright-Patterson air base? Where does this sudden optimism come from, when the latest reports that have leaked from behind the tightly shut doors at the negotiations are more inclined to speak of continuing exhausting negotiations over the maps of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina, where all the sides are (still) dug in their previous, diametrically opposed positions?

Does Christopher really have the magic wand with which he can get the negotiations moving once again from the deadlock, and "level" the irreconcilable views of the representatives of the Croat-Bosniak federation and the "Serb Republic," or will only an agreement in principle without details be reached as a postponement of the threat of renewed fighting in the Balkans, to the disappointment of many who saw Dayton as the definite solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia?

The key unresolved issues concerning the territorial demarcation in Bosnia-Herzegovina are the Bosnian Posavina, Sarajevo, Gorazde, and northwestern Bosnia. Following the well-known views of the Croat delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the demand by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and chairman of the presidential council of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, from peace negotiations mediator Richard Holbrooke that the Bosnian Posavina must remain in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, now the delegations of the Muslim-Bosniaks and Serbs have come out with additional demands that have not been known to the public in great detail.

Our sources claim that the Bosnian Serbs want one and a half percent more territory than the Croat-Bosniak federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they say that they are ready to make some concessions. However, the type and value of the concessions can be seen from another "but" of the Bosnian Serbs, as they ask that "the other two sides also hand over some territory, and they have to give up the Bosnian Posavina, allow a corridor at least 20 kilometers wide, and unobstructed access to Sanski Most."

Milosevic is also demanding on behalf of the Bosnian Serbs a third of Sarajevo, which is what Karadzic's Serbs have under their control now, as well as control of the hydroelectric power stations Bocac, and Jajce 1 and Jajce 2 on the Vrbas north of Jajce, which used to provide electricity to Banja Luka before the brilliant military successes by the Croatian forces. Izetbegovic, on the other hand, is demanding a unified Sarajevo as the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Doboj, Foca, Visegrad, Bosanski Novi, and an open link between Sarajevo and Gorazde.

The talks are also faltering over the constitutional arrangements for the future Bosnia-Herzegovina. The announcement concerning the deployment of new multinational forces to implement any Dayton agreement, envisaging that the forces would interpose themselves between the two Bosnia-Herzegovina entities, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the "Serb Republic," has caused additional consternation among the negotiating teams, particularly the one led by President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency. The exhausting negotiations over this issue are under way, and the pressure by the international mediating team is not easing.

However, will the pressure — which carries a lot of injustice with it — be strong and powerful enough

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to impose "in the name of just peace" political and territorial solutions that have very little to do with justice? Obviously history is almost of no consequence. Where people used to live before the war is also insignificant, as is who carried out the aggression.

Where then does the optimism come from, and the announcements that the final agreement will be reached by Tuesday [21 November] at the latest? What will happen after that, and particularly what will happen after the expiration of the mandate of the NATO force that is to come to Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Karadzic Admits 'Greater Serbia' Forlorn Hope

AU1911204495 Paris AFP in English 2029 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zvornik, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Nov 19 (AFP) — Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic hinted Sunday he did not expect US-brokered peace talks to allow his people to become a part of a Greater Serbia.

"I am not expecting the full realisation of our objectives, in other words, reintegration of the Serb Republic to Serbia or federal Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)," he told military police in the eastern town of Zvornik.

Referring to peace talks in Dayton, Ohio, reported to be heading to a broad accord, he said: "The results of that will perhaps not be the best (solution), but one thing is certain: the Serb people has created a state and succeeded in defending it."

"If the Dayton solutions are not entirely acceptable," Bosnian Serbs would reject them, he added. But if they were, "we will replace the armed struggle with a political one to achieve our final objectives."

Bosnian Serb hopes of reintegrating into Serbia no longer have the backing of Belgrade, which instead supports the idea of a confederation.

Karadzic, however, could be marginalised by any accord. He and Bosnian Serb military commander Ratko Mladic have been indicted by a war crimes tribunal on former Yugoslavia based in The Hague, and the United States has said it wants them punished. [passage omitted]

Referring to the inquiry, Bosnian Serb interior minister Tomislav Kovac said "what the enemy was not able to take from Serbs by arms or by negotiation, they are now trying to take through political machination and the pseudo-institution of the Hague tribunal, which wants to get rid of the Serb Republic's leaders."

Karadzic reviewed the military police parade in the company of the Serb para-military chief Zeljko Raznatovic, better known as Arkan, who was loudly applauded.

His militia is believed to have carried out reprisals on Moslems in eastern and northeastern Bosnia, but he is considered a hero by many Bosnian Serbs.

Expects Erasure of Drina Border

AU2011160795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by N. Todorovic: "Dayton Is Erasing Border on the Drina River"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvornik — "I am not expecting in these talks the full realization of our objective of becoming part of Serbia or Yugoslavia, but I do expect us to be firmly tied to them. What I expect, what we cannot go below and what we will not accept, is the abolition of our right to create a state." This was stated by Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, [RS] at the ceremony marking the day of the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs in Zvornik yesterday.

"According to everything we know, the documents from Dayton, even if they have weak and unacceptable points, will say that the RS is a state, whether in a union or outside the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but that it is a state of the Serb people."

Karadzic said that "there will be no demilitarization of the Serb state until Germany and Turkey and their allies in the Balkan peninsula have been demilitarized. Only their own armed forces can be the guarantor of freedom and peace to the Serb people. God help those who are protected by others, to whom others guarantee peace and tranquility."

"Our army will continue to protect our borders, while our territory will be protected from crime and Islamic terrorism by the Ministry of Internal Affairs," Karadzic said, stressing that "it would suit our enemy if these two components of our armed forces did not tolerate each other. We will not allow that, nor have we allowed that in the past."

"There is not a single crack in our state's tissue," Karadzic said. Relations between the military commands and state leadership are excellent. Such relations will also exist between the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the RS Army since we must, considering where we live, retain both the RS Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Speaking about the negotiations in Dayton, Karadzic said that the people in the RS expect the "first paragraph in Dayton to erase completely the border on the Drina River and that this border be never erected again."

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During the ceremony, RS Interior Minister Tomo Kovac presented hand pistols to the members of the police who distinguished themselves in the fighting. He also presented a pistol to Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan as an acknowledgment to him and the Serb Volunteer Guard, Tigers. Father Vasilije from the Zvornik-Tuzla region held a mass for those killed. The ceremony was preceded by the police forces' parade in the local stadium.

Serb Party Leaders View 'Struggle for Power'

AU2011090995 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 2010 GMT 16 Nov 95

[Report by Milos Pribic, including statements by Mladen Ivanic, president of the Serb Forum of Intellectuals; Zivko Radisic, president of the Serb Republic Socialist Party; Slobodan Bijelic, Serb Democratic Party deputy; and "Prime Minister-Designate" Rajko Kasagic — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] If a peace contrived in Dayton should come into being, our political scene is bound to start focusing on peacetime issues. Rebuilding and developing a market capitalistic economy, above all the preservation of statehood, and improving a democratic, modern state, will dominate our society. Even now, though we are not yet certain that the peace will hold, there are indications that the process — accompanied by party pluralism and parliamentary democracy — will be dynamic and stormy. Some formal and informal institutions with various options and projections have lately appeared on our political scene, creating more than just ripples. Why, and why now? — to pose but a few questions in an attempt to get an overview of our domestic political scene and to outline some issues that are bound to become topical.

[Ivanic] It is only logical that our political scene is tempestuous given the weight of the recent events and the fact that — within the framework defined by the international community — the war on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is slowly and surely drawing to a close. It is, therefore, quite natural to see a dispersion of political interests, various political interests, and hence also a stormy political scene. It can have positive and negative characteristics. It could be positive if it provides an impetus and an additional possibility for shaping the national interests in this region and if it adapts the realization of those interests to the new situation. It could also be negative if it leads to conflicts that would jeopardize the national interests. Personally, I believe that, if that seething force and various political views on the global problem were used adequately, it could have positive characteristics if both the state and the opposition, which has lately been more active on the political scene, show enough understanding.

[Pribic] There are different views on the existence of the opposition in general and its political articulations.

[Radisic] It is hard to talk about that in our case, because we practically do not have an opposition. We all worked hard, trying to develop our own programs, political and ideological options, to assess this situation.... The Socialist Party warned that time is not our ally, that it is working against us. Unfortunately, we were right.

It is true that lately, faced by all that has happened on the military and political scene as it were, we started raising those questions. I would even say that the Patriotic Front... that it is a consequence, that it is high time we started focusing on two or three essential questions, the first being defense. We must not allow a further erosion, and everything that happened, especially here in western Krajina — and we know that Banja Luka itself is in danger, too, and ultimately the whole of the Serb Republic, and I dare say the wider, all-Serb national corps and interests. Secondly, we must save our people.

[Bijelic] They were either silent for four years or grumbled. Now that something that would recognize the Serb nation as a constituent nation on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina has appeared on the political horizon, those gentlemen — from various trenches, floors, radio frequencies — are shooting their poisoned arrows at the ruling party. The ruling party happened to be there at the crucial, historic moment for the Serb nation and did as much as it could given the self-confidence, knowledge, and wisdom of its supporters, as far as it managed to consult Serb minds all over the planet, and with the level of support it received from our mother country, i.e. Serbia.

[Radisic] Regarding the Socialist Party, that is exactly what we wanted two or three years ago. We even proposed to other parties to issue a declaration on joint interests — whether it would be composed of one, two, or three issues — and to leave everything else for later. We even outlined those issues. Unfortunately, we did not get any support.

[Pribic] Criticizing the ruling party, the Serb Republic Socialist party also says the following:

[Radisic] No party is fighting for the Serb state and for the survival of the Serb nation on its own. The people are fighting for that, and this is a test of patriotism. There are both patriots and traitors in every party. You cannot equate any party or even the state or an individual with the ultimate interests of the nation. I think that is our major delusion, that this is a kind of single-mindedness [jednoumlje] and, not so long ago, we paid a high price

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for single-mindedness. Regardless of the form of single-mindedness, it is very dangerous.

[Bijelic] Politically speaking, it was really unintelligent to promote single-mindedness. We know what such a form of political monotheism presents. We know what such exclusiveness means. We had it for 45 or so years. We could not wait to end that. Consequently, it is inappropriate to think that one political party could do everything on its own all the time and to exist on its own, not to have a rival, a competitor. In politics, just as in nature and in life, and in the economy, it is good to have some competition for the sake of the prosperity of the nation and the state. In other words, it is not true.... The fact that, for the past four years, the promoters of this policy have been present in the media, in political activities, in the realm of military activities, that is because they won the elections. The people chose and voted for those whom they believed would protect its interests, at the time when those who are now raising their voices advocated something else. We must admit that, had we followed their advice, we would have been imprisoned in the independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am not a bigot who says that the ruling party never did anything wrong and that it has no faults, that it is absolutely efficient. That is out of the question. History and the people will be the judge of that at the next elections.

[Pribic] Lately, the ruling party has come under attack, accused of fostering single-mindedness. Consequently, the opposition, which has started to articulate its views, is particularly critical of that. Furthermore, it contends that the rule-of-law state is not functioning consistently.

[Kasagic] I do not agree with what you said first, for if this were single-mindedness, some people would not be able to spit so freely and irresponsibly upon some members of the state, even on some officers, some members of the army. If this were single-mindedness, we would not have so many parties formed in this war. That is very rare. No country allows the formation of new parties in wartime, and they are scathing at the expense of key national interest of the Serb nation. I agree with the latter statement, that the state is not functioning very well and that this has caused such tumultuous behavior by the newly-formed parties. That is why some individuals have become institutions, because nobody controls them, because they control themselves. I think this government, the fourth government of the Serb Republic, must see that the rule-of-law state starts to function as it is supposed to. I think that, regarding that issue, we must find a common language with the army command, with the supreme commander of the armed forces, with all the people in power. And those who want to deviate from that goal, from a unified stand in the realization of the national interests in setting the scene for a peaceful and normal life in the Serb Republic, should step down and resign, no matter what function they hold.

[Pribic] Perhaps the growing criticism of the state is a kind of election campaign, among other things, or at least an introduction to an election campaign.

[Radisic] Regarding the Socialist Party, we believe this is not an election campaign. This is simply a matter of survival. It is unfortunate that every other opinion, even very constructive proposal and suggestion, is interpreted as a struggle for power. I do not know whatstruggling for power is anyway. Let the ruling party remain in power for another 100 years, provided that it works in the interests of the nation and that the people support it. No government is so infallible that it needs no well-meaning suggestions. Anyway, I repeat that it is very hard to develop a state and that power is an extremely difficult function to hold. That is why we should not always interpret various proposals and opinions as a struggle for power. I do not know who is struggling for power, anyway. If the present government fears for itself and its fate so much, however, then it is questionable whether it is capable of being in power. Let the people decide when the time comes.

[Kasagic] As soon as there was a good chance that peace will be restored, some opposition parties launched their election campaign. However, they began their election campaign in the roughest of possible ways — not by proving themselves and presenting their own programs, what they want and must do, but by insulting individuals in power. That shows that we do not have much experience in multiparty activities. We are struggling, and there will be another three election mandates before we start behaving accordingly, before we realize that it is normal that, when one party steps down, it is replaced by another party, which takes up its activities, accepting what is good, changing the bad, but without intending to overthrow anyone.

[Pribic] Opinions are polarized. Still, is there a consensus on the minimal Serb national interests?

[Bijelic] I must say that, at the moment, the survival of the Serb entity, to use the euphemism — we know that it will be a Serb state on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina — is the minimum interest. I think the end to the war is the minimum. There is no doubt about that. We must admit that we have exhausted all material and mental resources. At this crucial moment, we must put our heads together and define our goal. Our goal is to defend the areas we hold, to survive there, and to develop a strong, democratic, Serb state together.

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[Kasagic] I think we must now insist on the unity of the Serb nation for the sake of our national interests. The Serb nation now has a chance to have its own territory and government. Let us look back at what happened five years ago. According to the census made between 1981 and 1991, there were 54 percent Serbs, 11 percent Muslims, and 17 percent Croats in Banja Luka. The Serbs only played as little as a 20-percent role in the authorities. The Muslims held 72 percent of positions in the authorities. Now we have our own authorities in Banja Luka for the first time. We must learn to respect the government, but to overthrow it by democratic means if it is not doing a good job.

[Ivanic] At the moment, our minimum national interest should be the realization of the Serb Republic as a state entity, a state, while taking into account the fact that the world insists that the entity remains in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In other words, our minimum interest is to preserve the Serb Republic as a state entity and to try to define its territory in keeping with the real situation and the fact that we have lost some Serb areas and that they must be regained. I think that everybody agrees with that. Furthermore, we must devise a program for new circumstances. Our present policy, the handling of the Serb national problem, has exhausted its possibilities with a probable end of the Dayton conference. [sentence as heard] It is obvious that a new stage will follow. I do not think we have yet devised a national strategy for the new stage. Therefore, I think that we are yet to define that minimum and that, in the new stage, no party should want to solve it all on its own, but will have to take the interest of others into account. However, we must yet determine such a global concept. Practically, the Serb national interest has not been defined, except for some attempts with memorandums. There were some attempts, but they turned into party programs, I would say. We still do not have any kind of global program and, personally, I do not expect that we will have one in the near future. Our forces in the Serb Republic are not strong enough to define it, and the political situation is such that our mother country is Serbia, after all, and there is a strong rift among the Serbian intelligentsia. I am quite pessimistic about the forming of such a program.

Croat Chamber Supports Posavina, Indicted Croats

LD1711225795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna adopted a declaration today lending its support to Croat members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the Dayton talks and to the unjustly indicted leaders of the Croat nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ivan Kristic has a report from Mostar:

[Kristic] The declaration, which was adopted at today's session of the Chamber of Deputies of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna, resolutely demands from the Croat members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the Dayton peace talks to stay within the framework of the contact group plan and the Washington agreements — documents on which the U.S. peace initiative is also based — according to which Bosnian Posavina is a Croat grand county within the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. According to the latest census, the Croat people in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina formed a large majority. If a just solution is sought then the centuries-old Croat territory cannot be given away to the Serb aggressor which would amount to it being rewarded for its policy of genocide.

They also lent their support to the unjustly indicted Croat officials from Bosnia-Herzegovina who organized the defense of the Croat nation in central Bosnia in the face of aggression. Even though these charges were brought at a time to coincide with the watershed phase in the Dayton talks, the tribunal in The Hague is expected to conduct an objective and impartial investigation which should never equate the aggressor and the victim of the aggression, the conqueror whose aim was to occupy the centuries-old Croat territory and defenders who defended their right to survival.

A package of bills was also adopted at the session today, adding the finishing touches to the legal system of Herzeg-Bosna.

Envoy to Iran on Talks, Sacirbegovic, Ties

LD2011124195 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Simultaneously with the Bosnian peace talks in America, the ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Tehran said that there are pressures, which try to direct the results of the talks, toward guaranteeing the division of the Bosnian state and country into two sections, Serb and Croat. [sentence as heard]

In an interview with a Central News Unit correspondent, (Omar Bahman) referred to the not-so-satisfactory outcome of the talks between the leaders of Bosnian, Croatia, and Serbia, and said that the talks are being conducted behind closed doors. The organizers of the talks are trying to reach a conclusion vary rapidly in order to gain special concessions at the international and regional level. This trend, therefore, is not in the interest of those who want to regain their lost rights.

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About the reason for the resignation of Sacirbegovic, the Bosnian foreign minister, the Bosnian ambassador said that Mr. Sacirbegovic has not resigned but had discussed a proposal to resign because the Croat side demands one of the key posts in the Muslim-Croat federation, such as the posts of presidency, prime minister, or foreign minister.

Emphasizing the appreciation by the Bosnian Government and Muslim people for the selfless assistance of the Iranian people, (Omar Bahman) said: During the resistance period against the Serbs, our people have witnessed the love, honesty, and vast assistance of the Muslim people of Iran, and this is why they will not be prepared to see the ties between the two countries to be harmed even slightly either presently or in the future.

He added that the ties between Iran and Bosnia will expand in the future and foreign pressure could not influence the Bosnian ties with Iran.

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Tudjman Leaves for Dayton, Comments on Talks

LD1911162295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 19 Nov 95

[All passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman left Zagreb for Dayton half an hour ago. President Tudjman was accompanied by Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak. Vera Tomasek has a report:

[Tomasek] Asked by journalists whether after four years of crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina Dayton was bringing peace, the president replied:

[Tudjman] "It seems that it is. If it were not so I would most probably not be invited there. This should finish tomorrow."

[Tomasek] Are you expected to initial some documents?

[Tudjman] "Initialling of documents [as heard]."

[Tomasek] Can you say something more concrete?

[Tudjman] "I cannot say anything more concrete. I am under the obligation not to make any statements outside Dayton. This does not only concern the issue of Bosnia. It also concerns the issue of the remaining part of the occupied area of Croatia."

[Tomasek] What comes after Dayton, was the last journalist question.

[Tudjman] "It is important that we establish our sovereignty in that occupied area without casualties, if possible. I have already said how many casualties we have sustained; if we had to do it in a military way, the number would increase, and our towns would be exposed to [word indistinct]. It is important to finish it. Good-bye, thank you." [passage omitted]

Tudjman Addresses Nation on Dayton Talks

LD1711162095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 95

[Address to the nation by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Citizens of Croatia, returning from the conference in Dayton, I feel the need to explain to the Croatian public the results achieved by the Croatian delegation and the stage reached by the conference itself. In assessing this we must bear in mind, first, that this conference is being held under the leadership of the United States with the participation of representatives from the main countries of the European Union, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia—that is, the countries of the so-called Contact Group—and of delegations from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia. Second, the conference's main task was defined as finding a solution to the military and political crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The majority of participants considered that the solution of this central problem should not be hampered by the issue of occupied Croatian regions. The Croatian public should be aware of the fact that the peace initiative of the United States and of this conference could only come about after Croatia, with its military successes on the battlefields in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, altered the strategic relations on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

These historic military successes—the liberation of western Slavonia and the occupied area of Banija, Kordun, Lika, Dalmatia, and Knin, as well as the lifting of the blockade on Bihac and the liberation of a large area of Bosnia, from Kupres and Grahovo to Jajce—were certainly achieved thanks to our developed, well-equipped, and capable military forces.

It was as a result of these victories that we secured the strategic interests and the future of an independent and sovereign Croatian state. These successes not only strengthened the international position of Croatia but also allowed it to become a major regional power, a strategic partner of the world's main great power, the United States, and an (?irreplaceable) factor in the creation of a new international order in this part of Europe.

We achieved all this, respected and dear Croatian citizens, only thanks to the strength of our own people and our own evaluations, on the basis of the establishment of a stable democratic order and a rational and resolute state policy in relation to all internal and international problems.

I have pleasure in being able to stress that at the conference Croatia was the most respected and constructive factor of all of them. In the framework of the conference, and during the course of the conference so far, which is continuing its work, we have achieved, for the Croatian state and the Croatian people as a whole, results of far-reaching importance and historic significance.

An agreement was reached with the Serb delegation on the peaceful reintegration of the still occupied areas of Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srijem [Croatian for Srem] into the constitutional and legal system of Croatia. This means that—and this is the most important objective today—we will not have to suffer new casualties and destruction. The occupied areas will be demilitarized by the disarmament of the Serb rebel,

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paramilitary [word indistinct] formations within one month.

After this, displaced persons will return to their homes and the overall legal, economic system of the Croatian state will be fully established within a transitional period lasting up to one year, because for our part we will not be giving any reasons for an extension.

The extent of the importance of the peaceful inclusion of the occupied areas can be deduced from the fact that hitherto we have had 12,846 killed and missing persons and 32,679 injured, while the overall losses suffered by the Croatian people, including those in Bosnia-Herzegovina, amount to about 20,000 killed and 45,000 injured.

Certainly, war operations for the liberation of eastern Slavonia and Baranja would have not only caused new, large-scale casualties and the destruction of towns but also threatened to spread the war, something that was of particular concern to all responsible international factors.

We have also reached an agreement with the Serb and Yugoslav delegation, headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Bulatovic on resolving, without delay, the problem of missing people and prisoners. We have also prepared an agreement on full normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia, i.e., the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is going to be signed after the agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina and the decision on lifting sanctions.

Normalization and establishing regular diplomatic relations will be of great economic importance, not only to our mutual benefit but also to the benefit of other countries, above all because of forging communications links between central and southeast Europe. The most important thing though is this normalization is a precondition for creating the new international order in the area of the former Yugoslavia on the basis of mutual recognition of the newly created states.

Following these points one can expect that the agreements reached will be implemented with the participation of Croatia's Serbs from the occupied areas, too, whom Croatia guarantees all civil, cultural, and self-governing rights in their capacity as ethnic community. Croats and all citizens of Croatia.

In the framework of the Dayton conference the question was raised of the need for Croatia to give the region of Prevlaka as compensation for the territory the Croatian Army occupied in the hinterland of Dubrovnik. This demand was left for further consideration as part of a general agreement on the solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia because the draft proposals embrace Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro.

In the framework of the conference, the question was also raised of those accused of war crimes by the International Court in The Hague. The Croatian delegation reiterated the readiness of its country to cooperate with The Hague court. However, we demanded the need for objectivity in establishing the facts and in the naming of suspects, prompted by the cases of Dario Kordic and Tihomir Blaskic who were among the organizers of the defense of Croatian territories from the Yugo-communist and Serbian-Montenegrin aggression and the defense of Croatian regions in the Lasva valley, Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca, and Kiseljak from the designs of Muslim occupation.

They are accused of alleged crimes during the period when the Muslim leadership was proposing that Herzegovina could be annexed to Croatia provided that these towns in central Bosnia remain in the Muslim republic. The Croatian leadership will cooperate in establishing the facts relating to the accused Croatian cases, but it is demanding that the same criteria be applied with regard to established crimes against the Croatian population.

They have been accused of allegedly comitting crimes at a time when the Muslim leadership was suggesting that Herzegovina might join Croatia whereas these towns in central Bosnia ought to stay in a Muslim republic. The Croatian leadership will cooperate in establishing facts as regards these cases of accused Croats, but it demands that the same criteria be applied to the documented crimes committed against the Croat population.

Croats, all citizens of Croatia, by reaching these agreements and results even before the end of the international peace conference in Dayton, Croatia has come a long way on the path to securing its grand and sacred aim: full sovereignty throughout the whole of its internationally recognized territory and not only strategic aims but a safe future of the independent Croatian state following the liberation of Croatia's occupied areas and the agreements relating to a resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To attain this ultimate goal, we ought to remain consistent in our policy of building an internal democratic order, developing the defense forces, consolidating the international position of Croatia, and developing as fast as possible the economy and culture of our homeland.

From now on we will be able, indeed, to carry out all these tasks faster and in a more successful way, because, following the successes and reputation of Croatia's state policy, the most competent international factors have

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expressed their readiness for comprehensive cooperation with Croatia.

Finally, let me thank, on behalf of the Croatian people and government, all international factors, ranging from the United Nations to the European Union and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the United States headed by President Clinton, in particular, and all the member-states of the Contact Group for their efforts to put an end to the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia and particularly for their support for the restoration of the territorial integrity of the independent, sovereign, and democratic Croatian state and for protecting its interests.

Defense Minister on Bosnian Croats' Sovereignty

LD1911145095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1440 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov. 19 (TANJUG)—Sunday's Zagreb press quoted Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak as saying that in Dayton the sovereignty of the Bosnian Croats is guaranteed.

Susak said that one of the three members of the presidency of 'this state, whatever it is called,' will be a Croat and the commander of the Croatian Defense Council (HVO) which is 'a guarantee that this sovereignty can be realized.'

At a ceremony in Grude, near Dubrovnik, held to mark the anniversary of the forming of Herzeg-Bosnia, Croatian state in Bosnia, Susak, as Tudjman's representative, said that in this region, the Dayton talks have created 'a panic, which cannot be justified, and rumours about high treason, which does not exist.'

'Croatia is with you because you too are Croatia and citizens of soveriegn Croatia,' Susak said.

Speaking about the Croats indicted for war crimes, Susak said that they would be extradited to the tribunal in The Hague 'if they are proven guilty' and 'if this is in keeping with the Croatian constitution.'

Dailies Quote U.S. Sources on Dayton Talks

AU1711214995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Zagreb VECERNJI LIST and Zagreb VJESNIK carry on pages 2 and 7 of their 17 November issues correspondents' reports on the progress of Dayton peace negotiations.

VECERNJI LIST correspondent Vladimir Goss reports from Washington. His report, entitled "Will a Solution Follow the Lull?", cites "a source well acquainted with the Washington political scene" who said: "The negotiations started off well, with pressure being applied to Milosevic, and the Croats and Bosniaks growing closer. However, they then again began giving in to Milosevic and that is a recipe for failure. Furthermore, the War Crimes Tribunal did not do the negotiations any favors by indicting Bosnian Croats." The source went on to say that the "agreement on eastern Slavonia is weak" and that the Serbs will not observe it. The correspondent adds that the source believes that a UN mandate would be better for Croatia than a NATO mandate, because if the agreement fails, the Croats can use force to throw out the Serbs and the United Nations, but they cannot throw out NATO.

VJESNIK's New York correspondent Kresimir Fijacko's piece, entitled "The Agreement Is Close But Nobody Wants It", cites a "State Department official" who said that "the Bosniaks are still insisting on Zepa and Srebrenica. The reasons for this are absolutely clear and justified, but the time has come when one needs to choose between absolute justice and progress toward peace." Fijacko goes on to say that "Zepa and Srebrenica, symbols of Serb crimes against civilians, have thus become the main obstacle on the road to an agreement." He adds the conflict of three stances, namely, the Bosniaks', who wish to see the two towns within the Federation, the Serbs' stance, who wish to keep them in order for Serb territory to be as compact as possible, and the Americans' stance that progress at the talks is more important than the justified moral aspect of the Bosniaks' wishes. Fijacko adds that not even Warren Christopher "who arrived at Wright-Patterson Air Base to use his authority to speed up a solution could not break the deadlock."

Fijacko goes on to say that the Bosnian Croats are unhappy with the maps for Bosnian Posavina proposed by the Americans. He then cites Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak's letter to Holbrooke in which he protests that Posavina has been left out of the Federation. Further on, Fijacko quotes U.S. officials in Ohio who "stress that no one is asking Izetbegovic to give up the territories that he now holds, but that 'his requests for cities that are now under Serb control cannot be realized if a peace agreement is to be reached.'" Finally, Fijacko cites THE NEW YORK TIMES on rising tension at negotiations following the indictments of four Yugoslav People's Army and six Bosnian Croats.

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Ohio Mediators Said To Be 'Bribing' Milosevic

AU2011103095 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 5

[Commentary by Ivan Sabic: "Using Agreement To Avoid Pitfalls of 51:49 Ratio"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A consistent feature of the optimistic announcements on the results of the negotiations taking place at the Wright-Patterson U.S. Air Force Base is that certain difficulties only appear regarding the demarcation within Bosnia-Herzegovina and the constitutional solutions by which the future relations of the future two "entities" will be regulated. However, if the point in question is not some kind of propaganda move, the word "only" before the two disputable details can only be used by those who do not know what the essence of the problems under negotiation is. In fact, the lines of demarcation drawn on the maps and the constitutional arrangements constitute the entire peace plan; anything else is just technical details about its implementation. This means that "only" agreement on those two items would be enough to bring the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina to an end.

In terms of the maps and the borders that should divide the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb "entity," the Serb corridor through the Bosnian Posavina region is one of the factors about which the longest and the hardest arguments have been held during all the peace negotiations so far, and the Wright-Patterson talks could not be an exception. A couple of weeks before the negotiations, the Serb leaders, both those who are participating in the negotiations and those who have remained in Pale, explained the details of their negotiating position on an almost daily basis. One of the details that was never omitted was the Posavina corridor, at least 20-km wide, so it is understandable that a lot of time has been dedicated to the Bosnian Posavina region itself, as well as to the fact that all the sides had proclaimed it as one of their vital interests.

High Price of Peace

Peace, which all the participants in the negotiations are allegedly seeking, has its price, a very high price. In many cases too high for those who have to pay for it, or at least not as high as their faith in military power and the fortunes of war, so they would prefer a restart or prolongation of the war. Meanwhile, when the point in question is the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the attempts to finally bring it to an end, the mediators should bear in mind that they should not demand payment from those who have already paid dearly for the very fact that they are still alive and that it would be natural to expect payment exclusively from the side that has started the war and that committed crimes, some of which—like the systematic rape in Bosnia-Herzegovina—are unprecedented, particularly when the mediators represent themselves as disinterested and impartial observers.

When one talks about the war that was started at the moment when the Greater Serbian policy could not be reconciled with the definite collapse of the idea of Serbia extending all the way to Karlovac, or even to Trieste, historical parallels are often drawn. Milosevic is often compared to Hitler, and the Serbian aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina is compared to Hitler's attack against all those who did not capitulate voluntarily. Germany, however, having been defeated in the two World Wars, has been punished severely twice. Not only did it lose its war acquisitions, but it had to give up part of its own territory, which it had when it entered the war. So, if this parallel really exists, and there is no doubt about it, then it is not logical that the mediators are trying to get the Serbian signature by bribing Milosevic with someone else's territory. Especially when that bribery, apart from the legalization of the Serbian war gains, can have some other serious consequences.

The point in question is that the mediators are so magnanimous that they are offering 49 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Serbs, although the idea of the division following the 51:49 ratio appeared at another time, when the Serb units controlled two-thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now, the territory under their control has been reduced to less than 48 percent, so that not only a part of Croat or Muslim ethnic area should fall to the Serb "entity," but also some areas that are today under the control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] or the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is a hidden possibility of Croat-Muslim rivalry, probably a possibility of a conflict, which would be of benefit to the Serbs.

Muslims Demand 66 Percent

According to the information from Wright-Patterson, the Muslims demand that 66 percent of the territory will go to the Federation, which would involve the area under the control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the HVO and Doboj, Foca, Visegrad, Bosanski Novi, and a part of Sarajevo under Serb control.

Meanwhile, if it proves that there a ratio of 66:34 is impossible, it is clear that the Muslim delegation will try to involve as many municipalities that had a pre-war Muslim majority as possible into the territory of the Federation, which would mean that some of the municipalities in which the Croats made up the majority

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of the population would automatically have to stay within the Serb "entity."

Many people warn that a solution that would allow the Serbs across the Drina River cannot guarantee a stable and lasting peace, particularly if some areas in which the Serbs formed a clear minority before the war would also be left to this "Serbia-Across-the-Drina." Before the war, the Serbs were asking for cantonization based upon the ethnic principle and, today, all the sides have accepted it, but if the peace negotiators really want to put a stop to the "Yugoslav" crisis, they should not misuse that fact in a way that they would force the victims of the aggression to recognize Serbian conquest. In that way, nothing more can be achieved than a piece of paper, which might fulfill the current goal, but would not remove the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the agenda of various international institutions and meetings.

Perhaps it is exactly in this context, in the face of the threat of such a development—that is, the U.S. pressure to reach an agreement that will preserve the 51:49 ratio will create circumstances that are favorable for the renewal of mutual Croat-Muslim distrust—the real value of the agreement on the strengthening of the Federation and on the cooperation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia that was signed by Presidents Tudjman, Zubak, and Izetbegovic at Wright-Patterson will be found. Namely, the very signing of the agreement sent a serious signal to the Serbian delegation, and if this agreement—that is, the situation in the relations between the two peoples illustrated by this agreement—succeeds in preserving the unity of the Croat-Muslim stand regarding the demarcation between the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb "entity," despite all the temptations that Croat and Muslim representatives are currently facing, then it will be very difficult to assess its value. Otherwise, the agreement at Wright-Patterson will remain exactly what it seems to be—an agreement on the agreement that was reached a long time ago.

Anger Grows Over Rumored Trade-Off for Peace

AU1911144095 Paris AFP in English
1359 GMT 19 Nov 95

[By Sonia Bakaric]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 19 (AFP)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman came under fire on Sunday for reportedly agreeing to a US-brokered peace deal for Bosnia in which Bosnian Serbs would be given control of an area mainly populated by Croats and Moslems before the war.

Stipe Mesic, a Croat who was the last president of the then Yugoslavia before war broke out, told AFP Sunday the US-led negotiations in Dayton, Ohio, were a "land deal being conducted on the back of the people and the Croatian parliament".

He added the deal "goes against Croatian interests."

Mesic, an opposition deputy, was refering to a reported deal negotiated in Dayton in which the Bosnian Serbs would be given currently Croat and Moslem-held lands around the Posavina corridor, which links Serb-held parts of northern and eastern Bosnia.

The Bosnian Justice Minister Mate Tadic, a Bosnian Croat, resigned Saturday to protest the proposal.

His move came after Kresimir Zubak, also a Croat, threatened to resign Friday as head of Bosnia's Moslem-Croat Federation created in March 1994.

Zubak has twice said this week he will not sign the peace deal being prepared because he says it forces the Bosnian Croats to give up land in Posavina.

Five Bosnian opposition parties Saturday meanwhile warned Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic the deal would confirm the division of Bosnia.

"Setting up a corridor in Posavina would cement the division of Bosnia and open the way for some parties in the country to attach themselves to other states," the parties said a statement.

Mesic told AFP: "Tudjman is the master in his own back yard (...) but as soon as he leaves it, he signs anything."

"The problem of Bosanska Posavina is that it does not fall within his province and I don't see why there's a need for a corridor for the Serbs if everyone agrees to say that Bosnia is united," he added.

Croats and Moslems made up 83 percent of the population in the Posavina area before the war and thousands of inhabitants have been chased from it.

But Tudjman, speaking in Zagreb Friday, said the negotiations at had been successful from the "Croatian point of view".

Tudjman is keen to establish normalised relations with Serbia, expecting Croatia will benefit economically, and said Friday the two had prepared a draft agreement on relations to be signed after a wider peace deal was agreed.

As part of the wider deal, separatist Serbs in eastern Slavonia last week agreed to come back under Croatian control after a one-to-two year transition period.

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The mainly government-controlled Croatian press has not reported the territorial exchanges being discussed in Dayton however one opposition newspaper—Novi List—accused the Croatian President of "playing with the Croats of Posavina and Bosnia just like the Serb President Slobodan Milosevic did with the Serbs in Croatia."

In response to the growing wave of criticism, Croatian Defence Minister Gojko Susak, who visited the Bosnian Croat stronghold of Grude in Hercegovina, on Saturday, called for unity among Croats.

"We are not alone in the world. We form part of a community which expects us to behave well so we can be respected," said Susak, who is regarded as one of Tudjman's closest allies and a hardline nationalist.

Croatia, which has a population of just over four million, has an expatriate population estimated at four million.

Opposition Criticizes Peace Talks

LD1911150295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1428 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov. 19 (TANJUG)—Eight Croatian opposition parties in statements on Sunday criticized the Bosnia peace talks in Dayton, Ohio, and the Croatian-Serb agreement on eastern Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem (Srem-Baranja region) signed in Erdut and Zagreb.

This is the Croatian opposition's strongest organized action against the new approach of the Croatian Government policy in the settling of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Although the ruling Croatian Democratic Union Party, led by President Franjo Tudjman, won the recent elections, the opposition won the majority of votes in Croatia's capital Zagreb.

The action of Social Democrats, the Christian Democratic Union, the National Party, the Peasant Party, the Social Liberals, the Croatian Party of Rights 1861, the Croatian Independent Democrats and the Social Democratic Party believe that the Bosnia peace talks in Dayton and the agreement on solving the problem of the Srem-Baranja region are 'directed against the Croatian people's interests.'

Under the agreement on the peaceful settling of the crisis in the Srem-Baranja region, signed in Erdut and Zagreb on Nov. 12, the state of war is to be stopped and international administration introduced.

The Srem-Baranja region (Sector East) is the only part of the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina that has not been seized by Croatia.

The statements, signed by the opposition leaders, do not accept an equal dialogue between representatives of croatia and Serb Krajina and peaceful quest for a solution.

The best illustration is their statement that peace was 'unjustly concluded' without the 'defeat of the Serb aggressor.'

The Croatian opposition leaders invited the Croat and Muslim delegations to walk out of the Dayton talks if they were 'being forced to sign a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina' and give the Sava River valley to the 'Serb aggressor,' as this would be an 'act of capitulation.'

Commenting on the agreement on the Srem-Baranja region, the statements said that the agreement was 'unacceptable both for Croatian political parties and the interests of the Croatian people.'

Dayton Talks Called 'Betrayal'

AU1911164795 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Report by Nikola Stanojevic from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Words indistinct] on the Dayton negotiations and the agreement on ways to solve the problem of the Srem-Baranja region, last night eight opposition parties added a particular touch to the rejection: The Croatian Social Liberal Party, the Croatian People's Party, the Croatian Peasants' Party, the Action of Social Democrats of Croatia, the Croatian Christian Democratic Union, the Croatian Independent Democrats, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, and the Croatian Party of Right 1861 issued two statements in which they attacked both the course of negotiations in Dayton and the Erdut and Zagreb agreements.

With their signatures, Tripalo, Veselica, Budisa, Paraga, Mesic, Racan, and the other party leaders offered views that do not respect equal dialogue. They reflect the view that, as it is put, there is a need to defeat the Serb aggressor either through diplomatic or military means [words indistinct]. They demand a special debate in the assembly on the agreement on ways to solve the problem of the Srem-Baranja region, since they say that this region under the agreement becomes a base for the creation of Serb political autonomy under the patronage of great world powers and the United Nations.

The opposition leaders also oppose, as they say, the partition of Bosnia, and they are particularly embittered by the fact that an agreement has been reached in Dayton that Posavina should belong to the Serb Republic. They are also rejecting the announced possibility of the exchange of Prevlaka for the territory in the Dubrovnik

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hinterland. They are even proposing that the Croatian delegation should walk out of the talks since it is allegedly exposed to great pressure.

Last night's reaction of almost the entire opposition was caused by Tudjman's address to the nation in which he announced mutual recognition between the FRY and Croatia. This agreement, as the Croatian president said, should be signed after the agreement on Bosnia, and the decision on the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. With the announcement of the sequence of moves, as local observers assess, Tudjman made it clear that the negotiations in Ohio are close to a conclusion. At the same time, the opponents to the present course that Zagreb's policy has taken do not conceal that they expected that, after the aggression on western Slavonia and Krajina, there would be another onslaught by the Croatian Army. The regime has until recently been giving hope for such a resolution as Tudjman kept announcing new storm and thunder if there is no peaceful reintegration. The Croatian president has now replaced his war rhetoric with a realistic approach, warning that new attacks by the Croatian Army would not only cause new victims and destruction but also result in the threat of the war widening, which is of particular concern to the ethical international factors. Thus Tudjman wants to calm the dissatisfied people both in Croatia and in Herzeg-Bosnia, particularly those that believe that this is all betrayal of national interests. However, last night's statements by the opposition, and the commentaries in certain papers expressing fear that some kind of zones could be created in eastern Slavonia, zones such as [words indistinct], show that Tudjman's regime is now reaping the fruits of its previous militant policy.

Senior Refugee Affairs Official Resigns

LD1711203695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In order that the occupied areas of Croatia might be truly returned in a peaceful way, it is necessary for all sides to have lots of patience, rationality, and humanity. This was stated by Dr Adalbert Rebic, head of the government's office for displaced persons and refugees, when he commented on the basic agreement on the peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia. He fully supported it.

Thanking all journalists for their cooperation, Dr Rebic intimated his imminent departure as head of the government's office. Owing to numerous obligations at the Theological Faculty and the Lexicographical Institute, and in keeping with a request from [Zagreb Archbishop] Cardinal Kuharic, I have asked Prime Minister Matesa to relieve me of my duties, Dr Rebic told journalists.

Refugee Agency Says Serb Refugees Ask To Return

AU1711165995 Paris AFP in English 1646 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 17 (AFP)—Nearly 3,000 Croatian Serb refugees who fled Croatian government forces as they retook Krajina in August, have demanded to be allowed to return to their homes, the Croatian refugee agency said Friday.

"Up until November 15, we received 1,524 requests concerning the return of 2,945 people to Croatia," Adalbert Rebic of the Croatian refugee agency said.

He said the numbers included both Croatians and Croatians of Serb origin, without specifying the numbers of each.

An estimated 170,000 people—nearly all of them Serbs—fled Croatia in August in what was described as the biggest single movement of refugees in Europe since World War II. The bulk of them went to Serbia, but tens of thousands also sought sanctuary in Serb-held territory in Bosnia-Herzegovina and eastern Slavonia—the last Serb toehold in eastern Croatia.

"We have for the moment settled 76 requests concerning the return of 307 people," Rebic told a press conference, but he criticised the slow pace of processing the requests.

The international community, particularly the United States, have encouraged Zagreb to facilitate the return of Krajina Serb refugees—many of whom were involved in bitter fighting against the Croatians.

U.S. officials said last month they had handed lists of thousands of Croatian Serbs who were seeking to return to their homeland, and they asked to Zagreb authorities to facilitate their speedy return.

Rebic said over 9,000 displaced people in Croatia had returned to the formerly Serb-held parts of Croatia—Krajina and western Slavonia, which was recaptured in May.

Croatia has a total of around 190,000 displaced people—whose homes are in territory which is, or had, been held by rebel Serbs—and 186,000 refugees, mainly from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Around 14,000 people have returned to central and southwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina since the regions were recaptured by Bosnian Croat and Bosnian government forces, Rebic said.

But Rebic also criticised the "very bad" conditions in which 25,000 refugees—followers of the dissident Moslem warlord Fikret Abdic who fought with the

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Serbs—were living on the Croatian side of the border with Bosnia.

They fled a Bosnian army offensive in the Bihac region of northwestern Bosnia and, branded as traitors for fighting against fellow Moslems, fear revenge attacks if they return.

Rebic said "around 400 armed Abdic supporters" in the refugee camp at Kupljensko were terrorising those who wanted to return to their homes.

In Geneva, a UN refugee agency spokesman said there was "increasing tension" in the camp.

"We see Croatian authorities refusing acces to firewood fuel," UN High Commissioner for Refugees spokesman Ron Redmond said.

"Tension is growing in and around the camp," he said, adding that the situation "worsened with the increased presence of police and special forces around the camps."

The UN agency has so far bused 700 people back to Velika Kladusa, Redmond said.

E. Slavonia Capital Prepares To Normalize Ties

AU1911143795 Paris AFP in English
2357 GMT 18 Nov 95

[Report by Jovan Matic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vukovar, Croatia, Nov 18 (AFP)—Serbs and Croats celebrated Saturday, each in their own fashion, the fourth anniversary of the fall of Vukovar, the Croatian town captured after three months of unrelenting bombardment in scenes of devastation not seen in Europe since World War II.

Croatia's separatist Serbs marked the "liberation" of the eastern Slavonian town with relative discretion as Zagreb and Belgrade prepare to normalise relations following an agreement reached by presidents Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic in US-mediated talks at Dayton, Ohio.

The Serbs will have been chastened by the dramatic turnabout in their fortunes over the past few months, culminating in the stunning collapse of their self-proclaimed Serb Republic of Krajina, overrun by reinvigorated Croatian army forces in a matter of days last August.

Eastern Slavonia, with its capital Vukovar reduced to stone-age rubble, is all that remains of the once-defiant statelet.

The Serb authorities, who have already agreed to restore the territory to Croatian control under a timetable yet to be finalised, refrained from military rallies and mass gatherings, and impassioned speeches were at a premium.

At the local cemetery, opposite a gutted church, the families of victims and local officials paid brief tribute to the dead who fell in the fighting to capture the town: a murmered ceremony under a grey sky, a wreath placed at the foot of a cross amid the gravestones.

"You died for nothing. Why?", a black-draped woman sobbed over her 21-year-old son, fallen in battle.

The town's mayor, Slavko Dokmanovic, addressed the press to inform them that "this year, in view of the situation and the Croatian threat, we are marking the 18th of November, the day of Vukovar's liberation from Ustashe (Croatian nationalist) terror, modestly. ... The Croats may use today to attack eastern Slavonia."

Croatia's remaining Serbs "wish to achieve their rights by peaceful means," he added. "We hope the agreement that we have signed will contribute to that."

There was little sign Saturday that the people of eastern Slavonia were ready to act on the Tudjman-Milosevic agreement to "completely normalise" their relations.

"Frankly I don't see how we can cohabit, Croats and Serbs, after everything that has happened," was a typical comment from one of the 170,000 Serbs who live in the region.

Another sighed: "I'd like things to be as they were before, but I know that it won't. If the Croats come back, we'll be obliged to leave."

In Zagreb, the fall of Vukovar was marked in anger by around 100 Croat refugees who gathered outside the United Nations headquarters at what they called the "wall of shame."

The wall around the UN buildings was built brick by brick on the pavement as a sign of protest at the freezing of the frontlines between Croat and Serb forces by UN peacekeepers who failed in their mandate, agreed after the January 1992 peacefire, of disarming the separatists.

Under that agreement the Croats were to have been allowed to return to their homes in Serb-held territory, but not one was able to reclaim the home and property that they left behind.

The last army defender of Vukovar, General Branko Borkovic, placed a wreath at the wall in tribute to his fallen comrades.

The names of some troops are inscribed on red bricks to indicate that they have disappeared without trace. Other names are marked on black bricks: these are known to have died.

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"I have lost six members of my family and my only son has disappeared," a woman said, lighting a candle to her lost son. "How could I ever forget this day?"

"Have you forgotten Vukovar?" The question was emblazoned on banners carried by the demonstrators who also hold up photographs of those who have disappeared. Many of the photographs indicated the ages of the vanished, a reminder of how young so many of them were.

Eastern Slavonia was the most cosmopolitan region in the former Yugoslavia, inhabited by a mixture of Croats, Serbs, Moslems, Hungarians, Ruthenes, Slovaks, Jews and others. All but the Serbs were forced out in the second half of 1991 as the Belgrade-backed forces launched their attack on the region in the first stage of a campaign to carve out an "ethnically clean" Serb state in Croatia, to be followed by a similar campaign in neighbouring Bosnia.

E. Slavonia Serbs Celebrate Vukovar 'Liberation'

AU1811160495 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Nov 95

[Report by Dragana Mijatovic from Vukovar—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Mijatovic] Vukovar—this is the town with which we have been linked over the last four years, and decades and centuries before that, with love and lives, with ties that cannot be broken or cracked. This ancient and long-suffering town is a miraculous symbiosis of natural resources and spiritual values. It is beautiful even destroyed, and seems predetermined to be linked always with very important events, even fateful ones. This was said at the beginning of the ceremony held to mark the liberation day of Vukovar.

Slavko Dokmanovic, Vukovar mayor and chairman of the council of the Srem-Baranja region, made the opening address:

[Dokmanovic] Citizens of the heroic town of Vukovar, of the Vukovar municipality, and esteemed guests. I open the ceremony marking the 4th anniversary of the liberation of Vukovar with a hearty greeting. For everything we have done so far, and have yet to do, we owe most to those that gave the most they could—their invaluable lives. The best of us, our heroes, made their sacrifice for freedom. They have enriched with themselves the unique soul of Vukovar, which is in every one of us. They will always be with us, in our thoughts, and we will continue to live and work for them, too.

HDZ Disregards Zagreb Election Results

AU1711195395 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 95 pp 5-6

[Article by Davor Butkovic: "President Franjo Tudjman Rejected Drazen Budisa, Goran Granic, and Zdravko Tomac as Mayoral Candidates and Threatened To Issue Writs for New Elections in Zagreb!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 6 November at around half past eight in the evening, the first round of talks among the heads of the leading opposition parties—the Croatian Peasants Party [HSS], the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS], and the Social Democratic Party [SDP], which had convincingly defeated the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in Zagreb—came to an end.

At that meeting, Zlatko Tomcic [HSS leader], Drazen Budisa [HSLS leader], and Ivica Racan [SDP leader] agreed on the mayoral candidates and the other main positions in the political bodies of Zagreb and the district [of Zagreb].

They also agreed to meet again on 8 November at 0930, and in the meantime, they were to hold consultations in their respective parties so that at that second meeting, they could establish a definite list of opposition candidates for the city administration.

Those agreements, however, are in reality completely meaningless and will not influence the appointment of the new mayor.

Namely, it is almost completely sure that President Tudjman will not accept any of the opposition candidates for mayor (which is his constitutional right), which means that there might be new elections for the city and district authorities!

Since on 3 November, the republic president returned from Dayton, where he participated in the peace talks on eastern Slavonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina for two days, and on the next day in the presidential residence, he received the heads of the leading opposition parties and the representatives of the Croatian Party of Rights [HSP]. The discussion was mostly concerned with who would be the new mayor of Zagreb.

The first part of the president's talks with the HSLS representatives went rather calmly, since it concerned the cooperation in the new House of Representatives.

On that occasion, Drazen Budisa told Franjo Tudjman that the HSLS was not interested in the position of the vice president of the House of Representatives, which belongs to the opposition parties, adding that the liberals already had the vice president in the House of Districts.

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The talk between Tudjman and Budisa became even more tense when they addressed the problem of the establishment of the new city authorities, after the HDZ had been defeated in Zagreb.

Drazen Budisa said that the HDZ could not count on any sort of coalition with the HSLS when it came to the political bodies of Zagreb of the district, and that the liberals would propose Goran Granic for the position of mayor.

President Tudjman answered that in that case, he would use his constitutional right.

Since the president of the republic must confirm the appointment of the Zagreb mayor, it is perfectly clear what that statement means.

Nobody Wants a Coalition With the HDZ

Tudjman's meeting with the delegation of the SDP did not pass in a very warm tone either. True, at the beginning of the talk, Ivica Racan told the president that it was good the Americans had not detained him in Dayton, at which Tudjman laughed.

In the talks, President Franjo Tudjman offered to the SDP a coalition on the level of the city administration and the parliament—in other words, the position of the vice president in the House of Representatives and, in turn, the SDP should form a coalition with the HDZ in Zagreb.

The representatives of the SDP refused the offer, saying that the HDZ could get as much power in Zagreb as it was ready to offer to the opposition parties on the state level.

The SDP leaders, as it seems, expected Tudjman to offer the opposition parties places in the new government. Since the president showed no readiness to talk about such a division of power, no agreement was reached between the SDP and the [illegible]

Franjo Tudjman refused the proposal of the SDP to appoint Zdravko Tomac as mayor.

President Tudjman let the SDP representatives know that he would not allow the opposition to take over power in Zagreb, and particularly not to determine who would take Branko Miksa's place.

Allegedly, the meeting of President Tudjman with the HSS leadership was the shortest one.

At that meeting, there was even an incident: When Tudjman explained the need for cooperation by the HDZ and the HSS with the thesis that the HDZ was already committed to the political ideas of Stjepan Radic [leader of the HSS before World War II], the grandson of the legendary leader of the HSS loudly protested and rose from the table, which provoked an analogous reaction from the other side.

After the unsuccessful talks of the republic president with the winners of the Zagreb election, it is clear that there will not come to any sort of coalition of the HDZ with the SDP, HSS, or HSLS in Zagreb, which in fact means that the HDZ definitely cannot retain power in Zagreb if they wish to respect the election results!

"You see, I know that precisely we were most suspected to be willing to form a coalition with the HDZ," one of the SDP leaders told GLOBUS, as the talks of Tomcic, Budisa, and Racan on the division of places in the city and district authorities went on. "But such a coalition is out of the question. The power in Zagreb was won by the joint opposition, and no opposition party wants a coalition with the HDZ. There is no way the HDZ will force us to do that."

To our question on the solution of the crisis in Zagreb, our interlocutor said: "Croatia is now on the sensitive border between democracy and dictatorship. Tudjman clearly said that he would not allow the opposition parties to appoint the mayor. What else is that, if not the disregard of election results, meaning the violation of the basic principle of multi-party democracy?!"

The interlocutor of GLOBUS from the SDP believes that the HDZ will do everything to prolong the establishment of the new city administration, and that precisely that is the reason for delaying the official proclamation of the election results.

After that, as is believed in the SDP, President Tudjman will reject the proposal of the opposition for the new city authorities, which will give him some more time.

Meanwhile, the SDP believes there might be a military action in eastern Slavonia, and after the liberation of that territory, he could issue writs for new elections in Zagreb, with much bigger prospects of the HDZ for a favorable election result.

New Elections in Zagreb?

The leadership of the HSLS also believes that President Tudjman will not want to confirm any of the opposition candidates for the mayor post and that the establishment of the new authorities in Zagreb will inevitably be blocked. That crisis can only be solved through a new election.

And although they do not believe in the possibility that they could truly take over power in Zagreb and the Zagreb district, the leaders of the parties that won the city elections are trying to nominate the candidates for the leading positions in the city and district authorities.

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In a number of meetings, the representatives of the winning coalition have reached the attitude that the candidates should be the politicians whom Tudjman could in no way reject with a convincing explanation.

For example, the candidature of the president of the HND [Croatian Independent Democrats], Stjepan Mesic, was given up because, as the heads of the coalition believe, that would enable Franjo Tudjman to reject Mesic's appointment easily and convincingly, claiming that, for example, he cannot trust a man who tried to destroy the HDZ while he was still in the leadership of the party.

On Monday evening, there remained only three serious candidates for mayor: Goran Granic and Drazen Budisa from the HSLS and Zdravko Tomac from the SDP.

In the previous days, there had still been some talk of the candidature of the HSS president, Zlatko Tomcic, who was not willing to take that post and who proposed Radimir Cacic, which the representatives of other parties opposed.

Mladen Vedris had also been proposed, who had already been a mayor [of Zagreb] and who had actively participated in the preelection campaign of the opposition parties, but Vedris himself said that the post did not interest him.

The leaders of the SDP, Ivica Racan and Zdravko Tomac, eventually proposed that the coalition nominate Drazen Budisa for mayor and Zdravko Tomac for president of the House of Districts.

However, Budisa himself did not favor such a distribution and proposed that Goran Granic should be nominated for the mayor.

That proposal was reportedly adopted, and it should be confirmed at the meeting of the HSS, HSLS and SDP leaders.

If the winning parties of Zagreb really nominate Goran Granic as their candidate for mayor, that will be yet another wrong move of the HSLS leadership in the last few months.

Namely, if Drazen Budisa took over the duty of the mayor, he would have the opportunity to restore his authority as the leader of the Croatian opposition, which has been greatly endangered by the bad results of the HSLS at the election for the House of Representatives.

If Drazen Budisa accepted the mayoral post, that would be a very clear political demonstration of the fact that in Zagreb, there has really been a change of power: In Croatia, it is Franjo Tudjman who has the power, and in the Croatian capital the power should be taken over by his main political rival, Drazen Budisa.

If, however, Drazen Budisa goes on insisting on Goran Granic as the candidate for mayor, that will be another withdrawal of the HSLS; another refusal of theirs to truly take over the real political responsibility, which the administration of Zagreb brings.

Besides, with regard to the political and personal biography of Drazen Budisa, there would be no way for President Tudjman to convincingly explain his refusal to confirm him as mayor.

Unfortunately, according to the statements of the leaders of the parties that won the elections in Zagreb, and according to the statements of Tudjman himself uttered at news conferences, the HDZ will not agree to the change of power in Zagreb or to an opposition mayor.

Together with all the disputable particularities in the election process that have been noted by now, like the unusual victories of Branko Miksa and Ivica Gazi (in the latter case, eight days after the elections were held), the announced unwillingness of the HDZ to allow the HSLS, HSS and SDP to appoint the new mayor of Zagreb will put great suspicion over the entire elections of this year, and question the regularity of the new Zagreb election, which could soon be organized.

Accusations of Media Control Refuted

AU1911180995 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 95 p 2

[Commentary by SD: "Whose Way Does SLOBODNA DALMACIJA Stand In?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the last few days, some magazines coordinated to publish several articles about SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, with the clear intention of bringing a certain amount of anxiety and low morale to this publishing house. Of course, when it is impossible to find true arguments which could discredit us professionally, the "analysts" of the situation at this publishing house and at this newspaper resorted to speculation and doubtful information that editors and directors are allegedly being removed and the paper will eventually be taken over by new owners.

Since SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is a stable enterprise in financial and all other aspects, something not very frequently seen in the present economic conditions, and since this paper has the great confidence of its readers, which can be seen in our large edition, and since it has managed to be affirmed as a Croatian independent paper, the opponents of such a situation and such an orientation as ours are growing somewhat nervous. Their own plans concerning SLOBODNA DALMACIJA have less and less chance, so with blows to the side they are trying to open cracks through which they can enter.

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Many are surprised and disappointed that we have not turned into a party newspaper. Of course, the most disappointed are those who thus lost their argument about the omnipresent control of the media, but also those who would really like to control us, neglecting the interests of the Croatian nation and of democracy, and ignoring our professional and moral obligation toward the public, toward the Constitution and the laws of this country.

The state is the party, and the party is I! That is more or less the motto of a group of semiskilled, incapable, but ambitious, unscrupulous politicians of the young generation, for whom nothing is holy, who are morally and politically thoroughly empty, deprived of any higher values and deeper orientation. No, they serve neither state nor party, although they represent themselves as big, irreplaceable protectors of both. They will explain all their shortcomings and failures by saying that they are not loved by the media, thinking that through the control of the media they can get compensation for all those shortcomings.

There is nothing new in the fact that SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, the way it is, stands in the way of the enemies of Croatia, in the way of Yugo-nostalgics who do not even try to hide that. However, it is interesting that both of these groups end up with the same hypotheses. They even start to speak with the same words. For both of them, for example, the Croats from Herzegovina have suddenly become the greatest danger, and that in a political, not a territorial sense.

Elections have shown what people appreciate, and what not. The elementary values of the HDZ are appreciated, chaste people are appreciated, the national left wing is appreciated, but by no means the Yugo-Left, the extreme and false Left, nor people burdened with affairs, regardless of the party they belong to (and poor is the party to which such people belong!), just as the pushy, one-sided, aggressive, stupid, and side-taking propaganda is not appreciated. Those who intend to deal with politics, those who want to bring a grain of wisdom and morals in that work, too, and not only their big will and wishes, must learn something from these elections—instead of prying into newspapers.

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Gligorov Meets Officials, Returns 'to Work'

AU1711175395 Paris AFP in English 1742 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Nov 17 (AFP)—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, seriously wounded in a car bomb attack last month, held talks with Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski and other officials Friday as part of his return to work, his office said.

Since the attack, speaker of parliament Stojan Andov had been acting president.

Crvenkovski and Andov briefed Gligorov about current affairs, his office said.

The president, who has had brain and eye surgery for injuries sustained in the October 3 bombing in downtown Skopje, left hospital two weeks after the attack.

His rehabilitation is continuing at home, and his doctors have described his physical and psychological condition as good.

The president's office said that Gligorov "is already carrying out part of his current duties."

Prime Minister Rejects Frckovski's Resignation

LD1711191995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Branko Crvenkovski, prime minister of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], has not accepted the resignation of Ljubomir Frckovski, minister of internal affairs, which was tendered on a "pending" basis, following the assassination of President Kiro Gligorov, it was announced in Skopje today.

A statement in connection with this decision specifies that the prime minister assessed the tendered resignation "above all as a democratic and high moral act, and as an expression of the interior minister's sense of responsibility, as the head of a department responsible for overall security in Macedonia, and in this framework, also responsible for the personal safety of the president of the republic as the highest-ranking state official." [passage omitted]

OSCE Delegation Meets Albanian Party Leaders

AU1811140595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] An OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] delegation led by Ambassador (Lorenzo Amberg) held separate meetings in Tetovo today with the leaders of three Albanian political parties in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. Our correspondent Imer Ismaili reports from Skopje:

[Ismaili] The OSCE delegation was received by and held talks with Abdurrahman Aliti, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, at the party's headquarters in Tetovo. Aliti, among other things, informed the guests about the political situation in FYROM. In particular, they discussed problems faced by the Albanian population, especially with higher education.

At the headquarters of the People's Democratic Party, Chairman Iljaz Halimi briefed the guests on the discrimination of Albanians in FYROM. Halimi believes the Constitution is the main source of national inequality in this republic. Halimi stressed the need to establish independent Albanian educational, scientific, cultural, and information institutions in FYROM, which presently do not exist. Halimi stressed the government's negative stance toward establishing these institutions, citing Tetovo University as an example.

Ambassador Lorenzo Amberg stressed OSCE's pledge to create and develop democratic institutions. You have OSCE's commitment in the future as well, he stressed.

At the headquarters of the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians [PDPA], the OSCE delegation was received by party deputy chairman Mendu Thaci, who further focused on FYROM's tense interethnic relations and in the laws approved by the Macedonian Assembly, which discriminate against Albanians.

At the end of the meeting, the PDPA representatives handed to the OSCE delegation their political platform on the constitutional change in FYROM, which is the main device used to discriminate against Albanians.

Joint Parliamentary Group Views Goals, Incentives

AU1811182895 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 10 Nov 95 p 6

[Report by I. Ajdini: "For a Constructive Opposition in Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several representatives—deputies and presidency members—from the People's Democratic Party [NDP] and the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians [PDPA] gave a news conference at the Journalists Club in Skopje yesterday on the occasion of their formation on 2 November of a joint parliamentary group between the two parties.

Right after the foundation, the group members unanimously approved a joint platform on its future activity

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and maintained stances regarding the drafting of a program and a book of regulations.

It was further said that the group's goals are to harmonize the work of six deputies who constitute it: Rrahmi Tuda, Arben Xhaferi, Rufi Osmani, Sali Ramadani, Zeqir Kadriu, and Hysni Shaqiri. In an organized way, the group will try to accomplish the goals of the programs of both parties, encourage cooperation with the other parliamentary groups at home and abroad, as well as create a joint kernel of the Albanian parliamentary opposition forces in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], with the aim of adequately protecting the interests of Albanians.

The news conference was led by Xhevat Halili, chairman of the NDP Information Commission. PDPA Deputy Chairman Shazim Mehmeti elaborated the reasons for the creation and the goals of the newly founded parliamentary group.

Mehmeti stated that regarding the Macedonian Assembly, the NDP and PDPA assessed that, even with this composition, the parliament failed to show readiness and good political will to overcome sundry problems, in particular, those of an international character. In an absence of real opposition, this parliament does not change at all from the single-party parliaments, whose way of operating is still fresh in our memory, Mehmeti ascertained. He also added that the deputies of these two parties have constantly tried to express their constructiveness as an opposition. However, Mehmeti stressed, unfortunately the existing ratios, the lack of a tradition in parliamentary communication, as well as failure to respect the reality in the Republic of Macedonia affected the commitment of these deputies not to yield the required effects.

This parliament dexterously took care in eliminating these deputies of the Albanian opposition parties from being unable to create separate Albanian parliamentary groups, as well as from establishing contacts with various international delegations that visit the Macedonian Assembly and express their readiness to contact parliamentary groups as well, Mehmeti said. As an instance of this, Mehmeti took the recent visit of the Council of Europe delegation led by Mrs. Doris Pak [name as published] who, according to him, has set up her opinion on the Republic of Macedonia's admission into this institution by listening to the parties in power.

As a second incentive for the creation of the group, Mehmeti touched the similar concepts of these two parties in accomplishing their special program goals. The third incentive is the high awareness of the presidencies of these parties and their deputies to start the processes of homogenizing the Albanian political parties and institutions, he stressed. Mehmeti added saying that the two parties have assessed that it is the last moment, even at this level, to eliminate the presentation of the Albanian issue in the Republic of Macedonia by only one political party, respectively the party that participates in the current government and which, in one way or another, should comply with the governmental policy.

Concluding, Shazim Mehmeti said that the obligation of this group should remain to be a constructive opposition in parliament, aiming at meeting the real demands of Albanians and protecting the interests of citizens in general.

During the news conference, the journalists showed interest in whether the formation of this group means a step toward uniting the two parties. Regarding this question, Mehmeti answered that "everything is possible." NDP Deputy Chairman Etem Haziri also did not exclude this possibility, stressing that in its last congress, his party has maintained the stance of establishing contacts with the other parties having related program definitions. The possibility that both parties will run joint candidates in the future local elections was also not excluded. The Macedonian Television correspondent expressed "interest" in why the introductory speech was not held in the official language—Macedonian. Upon receiving the answer that the speech had been distributed and translated in Macedonian, the correspondent in question asked how she could know whether what was said in Albanian was the same thing as what was translated in Macedonian.

The news conference ended with Xhevat Halili's ascertainment that it was once again revealed that the media ignore both parties and that, in such a way, you cannot enter into dialogue with them. Deputy Sali Ramadani also spoke about this issue, adding that this cannot be done, at least with the "Albanian journalists."

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Election Results: Kwasniewski New President

LD2011114195 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1134 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—Aleksander Kwasniewski is the new president of the Polish Republic. According to the election results reported by all 49 provincial election commissions and summed up by the Polish Press Agency, Kwasniewski got 51.72 percent of the vote. Lech Walesa got 48.28 percent.

To Take Office 23 Dec

LD2011124395 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1200 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—According to unofficial results, Aleksander Kwasniewski has been elected to the office of president of the Polish Republic. He will take office the day after the expiration of Lech Walesa's term, which ends on 22 December.

On 19 November, 51.72 percent of the voters voted for Kwasniewski; Lech Walesa got 48.28 percent of the vote. These are unofficial results of the election calculated by PAP on the basis of the returns from all provincial election commissions.

Kwasniewski got the votes of 9,704,439 voters; Walesa got 9,058,176. There were 28,062,205 people entitled to vote. Votes were cast by 19,146,496 voters. There were 18,762,615 valid votes and 383,881 spoiled papers (2.00 percent of the total).

The election turnout was 68.23 percent. The highest turnout was recorded in Poznan Province (73.15 percent) and Leszno Province (73.12 percent). The lowest was recorded in Opole Province (61.31 percent).

Kwasniewski won in 34 provinces. His clearest wins were in Wloclawek Province (69.98 percent of the vote), Koszalin Province (67.82 percent), and Plock Province (67.56 percent). He got the least support from the residents of Nowy Sacz Province (23.47 percent), Tarnow Province (30.14 percent), and Rzeszow Province (30.87 percent).

Walesa defeated the leader of the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] in 15 provinces. The current president was supported by 76.53 percent of the voters from Nowy Sacz Province, 69.86 percent from Tarnow Province, and 69.13 percent from Rzeszow Province.

The official results will be announced, most probably in the evening, by the State Electoral Commission.

News Briefing Possible

LD2011130795 Warsaw PAP in Polish
1228 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—It is possible that late tonight, once the official results are announced by the PKW [State Electoral Commission], there will be a news conference by Aleksander Kwasniewski relayed live on television, a PAP journalist has been told at his election headquarters. Until then, Kwasniewski will not make any comment on the outcome of the election. According to Deputy Jerzy Dziewulski, the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance] leader is staying outside Warsaw, where he is "recovering."

Today things were quiet at Kwasniewski's election headquarters in Warsaw. People are catching up on their sleep: "We were waiting for the official results right through the night" explained one of the workers at the headquarters.

The SLD leader is receiving congratulatory messages from all over the country and telephone calls from journalists asking for interviews.

Earlier Statement at Election HQ

LD1911231895 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2142 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Statement by Aleksandr Kwasniewski, Democratic Left Alliance presidential candidate, at his election campaign headquarters in Warsaw; from the "Election Studio" program; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified correspondent] Sir, sir, everything indicates that tomorrow we will wake up in a Poland that is divided precisely into two.

[Kwasniewski] I hope that we will not wake up in such a Poland. We do not have to wake up in such a Poland because the elections are a dispute. They are a dispute between programs, they are a dispute between persons, between the groupings that are taking part in the campaign. But precisely so, the elections are then ended for a result is announced. We do not at the moment know that result. And it is necessary, it is necessary to be together with each other, it is necessary to work together, it is necessary to together seek what unites Poles and not what divides them. That is why I am convinced that this democracy that is developing together with us and that Polish society has so excellently understood—for I feel that what has taken place both in the first round of the elections and in the second round witnesses to the democratic maturity of Polish society—is a good sign.

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Poland can be undivided, Poland need not be divided. In Poland it is necessary to seek that which unites us. Much here depends upon politicians, much here depends upon journalists, but I am convinced that today, on 19 November, we can say the electoral campaign is over. Tomorrow, the PKW [State Electoral Commission] will announce the results, and beginning tomorrow it is necessary to start working in the same Poland, in a Poland that is reforming itself, that is changing, and that is our mutual Poland. That is why I look with optimism and ask that these sorts of sharp formulations or pessimistic prognoses not be formulated because, in my view, they lead us nowhere. In Poland we can talk with each other. I am convinced that that is the way it will be.

[Second journalist] Thank you very much.

[Kwasniewski] Thank you very much. [chanting and cheering in the hall] [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Ladies and gentlemen, a statement by Aleksander Kwasniewski:

[Kwasniewski] Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, those here in Warsaw and all those in Poland, I sincerely thank you for your votes, I sincerely thank you for the trust, I sincerely thank you for the support that has been granted me today, 19 November, in the second round of the elections. I thank you very much, and I know how these votes are binding, and I know how very much I will have to work hard for your expectations, for your hopes to be fulfilled.

The results are today still a great unknown. I did not judge, and I am convinced that my competitor also did not judge, that we would provide Poles on this Sunday evening with so much excitement, so much of an unknown result. I propose that we wait with these results and with the evaluations of these results until the moment the PKW says clearly and officially who has won and who has been beaten.

I would like, on this election night, taking advantage of the opportunity and the possibility of addressing you, to tell you about a few matters that are important. They are important because today the electoral campaign is ending. Tomorrow, normal work begins. Tomorrow, Poland will be the same as today, as yesterday, and let us do everything for it not to be a worse Poland, for it to be a better Poland. Let us do this together! [cheers and applause, chanting of Kwasniewski's name]

Thank you very much. No, no, thank you.

I am full of admiration for Polish society and for the Polish electors, who are ever more active. Who in ever greater degree codecide about that which is taking place in Poland. The electoral turnout that we have had in this round of the elections was probably the greatest of that in all the elections that have taken place since 1989. I am pleased that young people have taken part in such large numbers in these elections. I know that these young people, without complexes, without burdens, without historical resentment, are our greatest opportunity and are a great hope! [cheers and applause]

Today, today Poles chose, for that is the law of democracy. Today, it will the greatest sin that can be perpetrated by politicians, but by journalists as well, by those present in the Election Night studio and those who will comment on our elections, it will be the greatest sin to divide Poles other than in this democratic way in which we dispute, honestly dispute over programs, over certain visions, but where we do not dispute over who Poland belongs to and over who is to have the entirety of power in this Poland, and who is not to have it at all. This is not the dispute at hand, and I very much request that we not treat these elections in these terms. [cheers and applause]

In Poland there is a lot of room, in Poland there is a lot of work, in Poland we have an enormous quantity of problems to be resolved. In Poland we must take advantage of the opportunity of our entry into the European structures. And this piece of work must be solely and exclusively carried out together, by the electors of Lech Walesa, by the electors of Aleksander Kwasniewski, and by those who were not present during this voting. [applause]

Additional Comments on Election

LD1911233395 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2230 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Recorded statement by Aleksander Kwasniewski, Democratic Left Alliance presidential candidate, at his election campaign headquarters in Warsaw on 19 November; from the live "Election Studio" program; relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer Marcin Zimoch] We go over now to the electoral staff of Aleksander Kwasniewski. Unfortunately, we were unable to earlier relay the entirety of the statement by Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski because a news bulletin was coming in. Here is Grzegorz Miecugow.

[Miecugow] I sincerely greet you again. As we announced a little while ago, we will now rebroadcast the end of the speech that, for technical reasons, we were unable to transmit live at the time, for which we very much apologize. This was literally two and a half minutes, by Aleksander Kwasniewski, before the announcement of those results we gave half an hour ago—that is,

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the results from 1,018 polling stations. [passage omitted]

Aleksander Kwasniewski, unaware of the results or the forecasts of the results, spoke in very reconciliatory fashion. In his speech he proposed that we not divide Poland into two parts, that tomorrow we wake in a Poland that is, that wants to work together for the good of Poland [as heard]. And here is the end of that speech:

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] I also appeal to Lech Walesa, that he understand that upon him and upon me there rests a special responsibility, that at precisely this historical moment, in November 1995, all efforts be made for the sake of cooperation between Poles, for the sake of agreement, for the sake of accord, an accord that is very necessary for us all. I do not know with what result these elections will end, just as today no one knows this yet. But I declare in relation to all of you and in relation to the millions of electors that I will so wish to continue to act in Poland, I will wish to be active politically in such a way that there is agreement in Poland, that we seek understanding, that we guarantee Poland's development, good prospects for young people, and a dignified place in Europe for all of us. We are capable of doing this. [applause]

We are capable of doing this because today, you together with me and I with you, we form a great camp of hope, of hope for a better future, hope for a democratic, developed Poland. Let us take advantage of this opportunity. A camp of hope is a Poland of those young people who voted for me, but that is also my, Aleksander Kwasniewski's, and your, my electors, and your, my collaborators, and our collective responsibility. Let us take advantage of this opportunity. [end recording]

Walesa 'Not Delighted' With Election Result

LD2011132795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Marek Karpinski, the president's press spokesman, said that Lech Walesa is not delighted with the election results, and no wonder. He said he does not know Lech Walesa's future plans. He announced that the president will meet with journalists today at his election headquarters in Warsaw.

Marek Karpinski stressed that Lech Walesa will be the ruling president until the new one is sworn in. He added that he does not foresee that Lech Walesa will be a silent president until then.

Kwasniewski Manager on Future Role for Walesa

LD2011083395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0800 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the opinion of Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, the head of Aleksander Kwasniewski's election staff, President Lech Walesa, if he loses the presidential elections, can use his knowledge and authority for the country's needs in a different field than just governing. Siemiatkowski said in an interview for Polish Radio that it was Aleksander Kwasniewski's intention to build a presidential chancellery on the basis of the broadest possible political spectrum.

Interior Minister Submits Resignation

LD2011103895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1021 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski has submitted his resignation.

PAP Carries Statement

LD2011105995 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1041 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Nov—I have fought together with Lech Walesa for a free and democratic Poland for many years. Remaining true to my own convictions and my life's path, I will depart together with President Lech Walesa. This is the statement by Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski given to PAP this morning.

Key Ministers Preparing To Resign

LD2011001395 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2320 GMT 19 Nov 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Presenter Marcin Zimoch] We go over to the electoral staff of Lech Walesa. Jolanta Pienkowska and Adam Pawlowicz?

[Pienkowska] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. A moment ago, the head of the electoral staff of President Lech Walesa, Deputy Jerzy Gwizdz, made a statement to the effect that President Lech Walesa would not appear today at his electoral staff. He will meet with journalists tomorrow—well, today, in fact, at 1800—and he sincerely invites all those who were at his electoral staff today.

And my guest is Minister of National Defense Zbigniew Okonski. Good evening, sir.

[Okonski] Good evening, good evening ladies and gentlemen.

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[Pienkowska] You appeared here, at the staff, just a moment ago. Earlier on you were at the Namiestnikowski Palace together with President Walesa. I know that there too you observed the last poll results, already those from 1,200 electoral commissions. What was the reaction of the president to these results?

[Okonski] The president is waiting for the final results. So, we remember that two weeks ago certain results showed an 8-percent dominance over him by Mr. Kwasniewski, from these smaller polling stations, so I still have hopes that, nonetheless, Polish electors will choose President Lech Walesa for president, for a second term.

[Pienkowska] Minister, but what if these initial polls are confirmed, which we were given a moment ago by the Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP]? Will this have an influence upon your further work in the Ministry of National Defense [MON]?

[Okonski] I will depart together with President Walesa. [long pause] That means, quite simply, I will tender my resignation.

[Pienkowska] Minister, do you judge that such a decision will also be made by the remaining two ministers from the presidential ministries—[Foreign] Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and [Internal Affairs] Minister Andrzej Milczanowski? Have you perhaps spoken with them?

[Okonski] From my information it transpires that yes, they too will leave.

[Pienkowska] And these are confirmed reports?

[Okonski] Yes.

[Pienkowska] And why will this take place like this?

[Okonski] I can only speak for myself. We all remember how much it cost President Walesa for me to become minister of national defense. And I feel associated, in strict solidarity, with President Walesa, but over and above these personnel matters or personal feelings or emotions, I think the entire ethos that is hidden [as heard] behind President Walesa and with which I have identified since 1980, when I created the basic structures of Solidarity in Gdansk—I think that such an obligation was undertaken by me already then, in 1980, and, when the postcommunist arrangement takes power, of course in a democratic arrangement, it is obvious to me that I will not participate in this [as heard].

[Pienkowska] But, Minister, Aleksander Kwasniewski has in his statement at the electoral staff called on Poland not to be divided, saying that these results are so close they ought not to cause a division, a clear division of Poland. Do you not fear that such a decision, by three ministers, will lead to such a division?

[Okonski] I think we have a right to our personal judgement, and, well, I just happen to have decided like this.

[Pienkowska] Thank you very much. That is all from the electoral staff of President Lech Walesa.

Security Chief Announces Intention To Resign

LD2011102995 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1000 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Henryk Goryszewski, head of the National Security Bureau, said on this program today that after Lech Walesa loses he will submit his resignation.

[Begin Goryszewski recording] As the president goes, I will go too. I have been with the president since the beginning, even before I returned to political life, for it was here on Radio Three, in fact, at the beginning of February 1994 that I declared for the first time that people should rally around President Walesa. I will go together with the president. That is absolutely clear. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Warsaw Press Reaction to Election Results

WS2011113195

[FBIS Editorial Report] On 20 November the major Warsaw vernacular dailies published editorial reaction to the preliminary results of the second round of the presidential elections held on 19 November.

RZECZPOSPOLITA, a centrist newspaper of record, published on page 5 an untitled, 300-word commentary by Deputy Chief Editor Bozena Wawrzewska. The journalist begins by saying that "the result of the elections should not come as a surprise to anyone. The most recent public opinion polls signaled that Aleksander Kwasniewski may win, and the first forecasts of the results seem to confirm this." She points out that the elections may cause a "deep division within society" but adds that "it is obvious that the new president should try to bridge the gap. The same should be expected from the loser." Wagrowska concludes that "the president should be beyond all suspicions—this is what both those who voted for him and those who backed his opponent expect. If this does not happen, issues that have not been accounted for will continue to poison our political life."

GAZETA WYBORCZA, a left of center independent daily, carried a front-page editorial by Chief Editor Adam Michnik entitled "A Great Unknown." Michnik

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states that "the democratic verdict of the voters must be respected, even by thoseand—and I am one of them—who are disturbed by the almost-certain victory of the postcommunist formation leader. Congratulations to the winner. However, this victory means not only a symbolic defeat of the candidate of the former anticommunist opposition, but also a symbolic return of the spirit of the heirs to the dictatorship." Michnik points out that "something vital and bad happened. People were tired of Walesa, his 'wars at the top,' his replacing of aides who 'took the hits' for him. They were tired of the Solidarity rhetoric and aggressiveness of the clergy. Lech Walesa scared Poles, even though he promised normalcy. Aleksander Kwasniewski was efficient, normal, professional. However, as a result of his election, the future will be a great unknown. What allies will Kwasniewski seek?" He concludes with a rhetorical question: "Will he prove to be the statesman that Poland so badly needs today?"

ZYCIE WARSZAWY, a centrist indepndent daily, publishes a front-page 300-word commentary by Chief Editor Tomasz Wolek and Deputy Chief Editor Jerzy Wysocki entitled "History's Full Circle?" The authors assess that the "success of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader would mean that history has turned full circle. The people who are responsible for all of the things that happened in the Polish People's Republic [PRL] would regain full power. At any rate, it is clear that the memory of 5 million people has proved to be short and that the nostalgia for the appearances of a protective state has turned out to be too strong." They criticize the post-Solidarity camp, pointing out that "the postcommunists have achieved yet another success thanks to the nearsightedness and naivete of all of the Solidarity elites and governments. Accounts with the PRL have not been settled, and its functionaries have woven a web of political and economic connections. The once-prominent activists of the former opposition fought against one another, thus ignoring the real adversary. Walesa might also be accused of this." The journalists point out, however, that "the electoral result for Lech Walesa, if he loses, means that he will be the only politician of the post-August [1980] Poland capable of creating a real counterbalance to the postcommunist formation." They claim that "a new political camp will be grouped around him."

TRYBUNA, a left-oriented daily, publishes an untitled, front-page commentary by Chief Editor Dariusz Szymczycha under the "One Hundred Words" rubric. Szymczycha, openly supporting the left-wing candidate, states that "Aleksander Kwasniewski became one of the leading figures of the Polish political class and multiplied the electorate of the democratic left. Kwasniewski's election was the choice of an elegant political style and a concrete platform. The SLD candidate won the support of a few million people, despite attacks of church officials, mostly unfavorably disposed media, and the so-called public television." According to Szymczycha, "this narrow electoral victory shows how responsible the president's mission will be. The president should get his messages across also to that half of the Poles who did not vote for him." The TRYBUNA chief editor ends by pointing out that "on 19 November Poland was not divided. Poland made a choice between two politicians. This democratic decision must be respected."

Kwasniewski on Elections, NATO, EU, Russia

BR1711151895 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 17 Nov 95 p 6

[Interview with Polish presidential candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski by Angel Santa Cruz in Warsaw; date not given: "Without Communism, Walesa Is Unable To Live"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw—*Either Lech Walesa or Aleksander Kwasniewski—one of the two men will be Poland's next president on Sunday. The interview with candidate Kwasniewski began the wrong way around. It was he who asked about the Spanish political situation. He said that he feels great respect for Felipe Gonzalez, whom he admires. It seems to him that Aznar lacks personality, but he acknowledged that 12 years is a long time and that there is a danger of manipulating the institutions too much. He is an economist by training and takes care of his personal appearance and manners.*

[Santa Cruz] What will be the president's powers in the new constitution?

[Kwasniewski] More or less the same as now. We will stay in the middle of the road. I am opposed to a very strong presidency because we have a very recent democracy and there is a danger that a president with great power and a group of advisers could dominate too much. Our democratic experience is not very deep. It began six years ago. Before the war, we had a liberal dictatorship, but a dictatorship (he is referring to Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, Walesa's idol). Afterward, we had a single party system. A strong presidency is dangerous now. In this situation, it is very important to have a president with moderating power.

[Santa Cruz] Do you view Walesa, if he wins, as a threat to Poland?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that Mr. Walesa is a man of democracy. This is the second democratic presidential election since the fall of Communism, and somebody must lose it. Of course, there is the problem of his

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frustration, his annoyance, if he loses, but nobody can be opposed to the election's results without being opposed to the rules of the game. There is a chance of tension in Poland owing to the economic situation: We have unemployment (14 percent), poor people, and very run-down regions, but, in my opinion, it is impossible to organize anything serious against the election result. As far as I am concerned, the big question is whether Mr. Walesa will be able to reintegrate himself into the system if he loses on Sunday. In my opinion, the first televised debate was a great defeat for him; I saw him as an old athlete who has won gold medals and who, 20 years after his victories, talks all the time about his past successes. We know it, we appreciate it, bravo (he applauds), but that was 20 years ago! Time passes, and there are new challenges and developments, and it is impossible to tackle them by saying: "Twenty years ago, I was champion of Poland." I believe that the most important personal question for Mr. Walesa is whether he wishes to become a symbol—very important, but just a symbol—or whether he is able to be pragmatic and join the right-wing parties and be just another politician, like everywhere else in Europe—that is, open to the future—because now he is completely shut up in the past. On television on Sunday, he used the word "communists" 20 or 30 times. I sometimes had the impression that without communism Mr. Walesa is unable to live.

[Santa Cruz] I have noticed no real differences between Mr. Walesa and you about the EU or NATO.

[Kwasniewski] That is true, and it is an advantage. We are politically in agreement in Poland on joining NATO and the EU, and it is a very good thing. If you analyze our situation and the philosophy of European unification, the enlargement of the EU and NATO is the next step. From the Polish viewpoint, the unification of Germany was very important, but it is just a step in this general direction. Now we are waiting for the next steps because, if Europe wishes to be an integrated area, without new borders, without new divisions between East and West, rich and poor, a new idea of Europe must be organized. I met with Mr. Gonzalez in March or May of this year, and he told me that it is not true that Spain is opposed to the enlargement—quite the contrary. I realize that his country has some kind of responsibility and interests in the Mediterranean, in finding solutions to the real problems of Morocco or Tunisia, but the next stage should be the enlargement toward Central Europe, with Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

[Santa Cruz] Are you people afraid of Russia?

[Kwasniewski] We should be very consistent and very patient with Russia—consistent because our strategy is to be in NATO and the EU, and there is no reason to change it because of Russian objections. It is our sovereign right and goes in the right direction. Our joining these two organizations is not directed against Russia. Poland is interested in having good relations with Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. They are neighbors and we need a good economic and political understanding with them. Why should we be patient? Because the Russian situation is very difficult: parliamentary elections, a presidential election, Yeltsin in the hospital, economic chaos, and a confused political situation. It would be very damaging in this situation for us to react to every statement by Moscow. I believe that the European stance with respect to Russia should be equally patient and consistent. We cannot and will not accept solutions on the lines of "if Russia is opposed, we will create a buffer zone here in the middle of Europe and organize ourselves with just the Western countries." That would mean new divisions in Europe.

[Santa Cruz] What is the most important economic problem confronting Poland?

[Kwasniewski] There are two. The first is to protect our growth because it is our great opportunity for the future. It will be 6.5 percent his year and 5.5 percent next year. The second is to use this growth to resolve very difficult and very profound social problems: unemployment, poverty, the issue of the pensioners (he is referring to the high percentage of the budget devoted to paying pensions to 9 million people), the reform of the social security system, and the opening up of prospects for young people.

[Santa Cruz] How do you view relations between church and state?

[Kwasniewski] You know that Polish society is very traditional. I am in favor of normality, which means more or less the same situation as in West Europe. We should guarantee everybody's religious freedom, make the various churches—the Catholic Church and the others—equal before the law, and have a neutral state, which means that the law in Poland is the same for everybody—believers and nonbelievers, Catholics and Protestants. That is why I am opposed to privileges for the Catholic Church in the constitution (Kwasniewski is chairman of the Constitutional Committee). If we want equal rights for all Poles, it is impossible to favor one religion.

[Santa Cruz] Is that possible in Poland?

[Kwasniewski] I am certain it is. Let us wait for the results of the election.

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[Santa Cruz] Are you going to win it?

[Kwasniewski] I have a good chance. I firmly believe that it is possible. Mr. Walesa made that stupid remark Sunday that my voters are the *nomenklatura*. I have argued about my electorate with Mr. Walesa three times; Sunday on television was the third time. In the first round of this presidential election, I won 6,300,000 votes, and I was the person most voted for by young people. My success is that of the real electorate, of the left's values, because among those 6 million people there are obviously people closely connected with the Catholic Church. I believe that this 50 percent of society that we have more or less on our side accepts my political style, which is opposed to aggression and has reasoning—a style of normality, in short.

[Santa Cruz] Does everybody in your party (Democratic Left Alliance, SLD—former communists) support the market economy and the democratic system?

[Kwasniewski] I am certain of it. Nobody in my party thinks of returning to the past. We came into being in February 1990, in completely new circumstances. At that time, we made the most difficult decisions for everybody. We dissolved a party of 2 million members, and only 60,000 were members of the SLD from the outset. We knew that it was a long road, and those who joined certainly did not do so for privileges. That option of 1990 was honest. We told ourselves that we held the political and social area for left-wing, social democratic values in Poland. And nearly six years later, I must say that I am very satisfied, that we were not mistaken. I am very pleased to have good colleagues such as Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Vranitzky and Bruntland and Carlsson. They realized that we were genuine Social Democrats, that we do not dream of turning back.

Kolodko: Kwasniewski Would Be Good for Economy

LD2011120595 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0700 GMT 20 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] This is the "Signals of the Day" program. In the studio today our guest is Professor Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and minister of finance. I think we should start by talking about the budget. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] We started with the budget, but I would like to return to what happened yesterday evening. I would like your reaction to the possible victory by Aleksander Kwasniewski in the presidential elections. Will this victory help the Polish economy or not?

[Kolodko] That is a good question. I also wonder how to interpret this verdict by our nation and society. I think this can be done in two ways. Looking at the positive criteria, if Mr. Kwasniewski is our president, because this is a fact, even if we do not know the final results, we can largely interpret this as a positive reflection of our economy, of those economic tendencies that have been present for two years. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, I am afraid—or rather, I think—that this election result is also the result of negative criteria being applied. Mr. Walesa was chiefly using rhetoric, and you even quoted Adam Michnik writing in GAZETA WYBORCZA a short time ago, and there was not much evidence of action. When we met with President Walesa a year ago in parliament, he did not answer when I asked if he was ready to give a lead to reforms. What he did, to all intents and purposes, was to stand in the way of these reforms by constantly applying the veto to proreform and prosocial bills, or he acted with a certain amount of spite, I think, when he would justifiably fail in his veto, by making it difficult to implement this proreform line. He would send off good bills, bills that were good for the economy, to the Constitutional Tribunal. Even today, as I speak, we have a very important bill waiting before the Constitutional Tribunal on index-linking old age pensions and other pensions next year. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Will the possible feeling of lack of pressure that the government will now have in carrying out its policies—and I am referring here to economic policy—not have a soporific effect on initiatives that will be put forward by, among others, the Ministry of Finance?

[Kolodko] As regards the Ministry of Finance, this will certainly not be the case because I will not allow myself to be lulled to sleep by whoever is president. I will try to make sure for as long as I am allowed that the Polish economy is in fine fettle. I would put it this way: My fears today are twofold. [passage omitted] There are the fears of those who have lost—and I do not mean President Walesa if he has not been reelected—but a whole group of other candidates and their supporters, who will lose their public positions as a result of their defeats and setbacks. One should not completely underestimate the fear that conservative forces will become stronger in certain governing circles in the broad meaning of the word—and I do not just mean the government or maybe I don't mean the government at all. These conservative forces might try to profit from someone else's victory. You see, the person who has won is Mr. Aleksander Kwasniewski, and this is perhaps why some right-wing conservative politicians are taking it so badly and are trying to interpret this as a victory for a certain system that supposedly still poses a threat to Polish reforms, to Poland's bid to be part of the

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European Union and European structures—quite simply to be part of the 21st century and to have a better future. This is one of the dangers, and one has to look calmly at these matters and counter such conservative views whenever they surface here and there.

[Announcer] Is this conservatism to be found only on the right of the political scene?

[Kolodko] No, I am talking here precisely about forces that seem, or at least it seems to them, to think they have won together with Mr. Kwasniewski and can make various decisions. [passage omitted]

On the other hand—and this is a greater danger for me, and I have seen this after nearly two years of work in the government and I see it completely differently now than ever before—this is the danger that opposition circles will take, both in relation to the possible future president, Mr. Kwasniewski, and the current ruling system in parliament, in the Council of Ministers and the administration, actions that make reform more difficult, that are obstructionist and that complicate Poland's bid to join the European Union. These are uncommonly complex matters, and responsibility will be placed at the door of the governing, presidential-parliamentary system. [passage omitted]

I want a president who will say that many of you will lose your jobs by the year 2000 but, as a result of our policy and strategy for Poland, you will find, or we shall help you to create, alternative work.

[Announcer] Will Mr. Kwasniewski agree to that?

[Kolodko] Yes, I think this will be the difference between his policies [and Walesa's] if he becomes a president of responsibility and vision and not one of illusions. This is because Mr. Kwasniewski has vision and not illusions, and this was apparent in his entire campaign. [passage omitted]

A president who carries out, or who blocks the carrying out of, economic policy because of ideological considerations and thus harms the economy should not be the president. But, if this is the verdict of the nation, one must accept it and simply get down to serious and solid work. Just remember that the next presidential elections are in the year 2000, and until then we have to carry on working for five years.

Church Engagement in Elections Assessed

WS1311144495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Nov 95 p 15

[Article by Roman Graczyk: "A Realm of This World?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Bishops have the right to engage in political campaigns; however, Catholics have the right to ask: What is happening to our religion given that it is used as a slogan in the struggle for temporal power?*

Bishops voice their opinions about presidential candidates. Meanwhile, public opinion polls indicate that most Poles oppose the church's political involvement. Some politicians and observers believe that the bishops are breaking the democratic principles; others advocate both the high church officials' right to engage in politics and the content of their appeals. How can one find a rational balance in this mosaic of viewpoints?

Everybody can engage in election campaigns in a liberal democratic state. Therefore, the bishops have the full right to voice their personal opinions about candidates. They can dissuade believers from voting for Aleksander Kwasniewski and, at the same time, encourage support for his rivals. They can invent their own criteria and point to candidates who meet those criteria better than others.

Proceeding in that direction, one can presume that if, in the recent campaign the episcopate had proclaimed itself, for instance, Gronkiewicz-Waltz's support committee, this, too, would have been in agreement with the spirit of a liberal state. From this perspective, the bishops are far from exhausting the arsenal of legal methods to influence election results.

However, if one embarks on the road of political engagement, he has to pay the price. In a democratic state, unlike a totalitarian regime, where the church advocated basic values, opinions are always divided. Even a perfect program once it goes through the machine of political struggle will be accepted only by a certain group of people.

Presuming the bishops are eligible to participate in the election campaign, the same as other citizens, they should bear all consequences of that campaign. After the episcopate voiced public opposition to Kwasniewski's candidacy, SLD [Union of Democratic Left] supporters began to regard it as a side in the purely political dispute, and even as a quasi-party. How can they be dissuaded?

Is Kwasniewski a Totalitarian?

In the appeal entitled "The Word From Jasna Gora" [monastery in Czestochowa], which was released on 26 August 1995, the bishops warned "against those people who in times of the totalitarian regime held posts at the highest party-governmental level." The appeal says about postcommunists: "They do not provide guarantees that they are capable of ruling the state differently from in the past, when they led the people to poverty and the state into dramatic indebtedness."

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I personally believe that the bishops are right to warn against the election of Kwasniewski. However, two important questions arise at this point. Will the criticism hit the source of danger? Should this kind of criticism come from the episcopate?

Kwasniewski joined the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in times when a small group of young people representing the same generation engaged in the activities of the democratic opposition. He was a member of that party when martial law was introduced on 13 December 1981. He remained in the party for the next seven years, when the ruling team did not make a single gesture of political concession.

Thus, the weakness of the SdRP [Polish Republic's Social Democracy] leader does not lie in his inability to adapt to circumstances. On the contrary, it lies in his excessive readiness to change the color of his skin. Kwasniewski is not dangerous because he will lead Poland back to the times of the Polish People's Republic. There is a different reason for fear: Kwasniewski may not risk his career to implement reform vital for Poland. In other words, he is characterized by the absence of strong convictions and by weakness of personality. The analysis made by the bishops does not reach the source of danger. Instead, by scaring the electorate with a communist future, it decreases the trustworthiness of their opposition against the SLD chief's candidacy.

Is the SLD the PZPR?

Tarnow Bishop Jozef Zycinski released a statement in September opposing the style of Aleksander Kwasniewski's election campaign. Zycinski referred to the SLD's appeal about "nationwide social support" for their candidate and to Kwasniewski's interview given to the Italian LA STAMPA, in which the SLD leader allegedly depicted the church as the "equivalent of a political party," and the clergymen as "fanatical propagandists." Zycinski wrote in his statement, "Polish party leaders have not used this kind of language since the times of the absurd war against the church waged by Wladyslaw Gomulka.... The current case can be regarded...direct continuation of the PRL style. In those days, too, totalitarian authorities arrogantly slighted society and on the eve of elections appealed for nationwide support." (GAZETA No. 222—ed.)

If Kwasniewski really said what he is accused of by the Tarnow bishop, he inflated rhetoric as compared to facts. However, the bishop did the same. The point is that only if someone greatly simplifies the experience of the PRL can he draw conclusions about the existence of a connection between the SLD chief's false statements voiced to LA STAMPA and the elections held, for instance, in 1957 in accordance with the Popular Unity Front's formula. In PRL "elections," vast masses of people (which was unfortunately another side of the oppressive system) would vote for a list of candidates compiled by the PZPR leadership. What do they have in common with Kwasniewski's campaign in the 1995 democratic elections?

To a certain degree, Kwasniewski is responsible for the pre-1989 totalitarian regime. However, today, when he is the leader of a party that respects democratic principles, why assess his words, which do deserve criticism, as "totalitarian style of exercising power?"

Church Into Underground Activities?

In the context of disputes about ratifying the Concordat, the bishops write: "It is not hard to point at such groups whose candidates...do not want to regulate the relationship between the state and the church based on sound international legal principles, but are eager to continue the policy pursued by the communists, who wanted to send the church into underground activities by abolishing the Concordat in 1945."

It is true that SLD leaders are playing with the Concordat in a manner that deserves criticism. One can demand that they clearly say "yes" or "no" and present the conditions they believe necessary to ratify that document. However, the policy of the communists after 1945 did not amount to this kind of game; it was brutal persecution of the church and religion.

We should also remember that there are provisions in the Concordat that raise questions and evoke objections. We should discuss those provisions instead of amassing ideological grievances or even accusing the opponents of ill will, which prevents the ratification of the agreement with the Vatican. The point is that, among the critics of the Concordat, there are deputies such as Ryszard Bugaj from the Labor Union who express their doubts openly and unambiguously. Do all of those deputies really deserve the bishop's accusations to the effect that they "place party interests above national ones" and want to send the church underground?

Therefore, one can presume that a large group of believers may regard as hysteria the bishops' stance on the ratification, given that it is too simplistic and reduces real problems to a phantasm of Stalinism.

Does this not have an impact on the efficiency of the episcopate's election activities?

God's and Caesar's

I have analyzed a couple of examples of the church hierarchy's involvement in the electoral competition. I would like to reiterate that there is nothing in those

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activities that would be disputable from the viewpoint of democracy. However, it brings up questions from the perspectives of both the quality of the public debate and religion. Any debate loses in quality when a very authoritative institution greatly simplifies complex problems. Moreover, every institution stands the risk of failure. However, religion too loses. No matter what is being said about the church's restrained standpoint in the current election campaign, the basic question remains: The authority of religion was deliberately engaged in a fight for matters that are both temporal and disputable because of their nature.

It is good that the bishops restrained themselves before the first round and did not specify their presidential candidate. However, there is no way to conceal the facts of the frequent use of churches and premises of religious associations by Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Lech Walesa. People saw that. The Catholics saw that and have the right to ask: What is happening to our religion, which is being used as a banner in a fight for power? The point is that the natural hierarchy has been overturned, and absolute values have begun to serve relative ones.

Those objections can be supported by the church's own social doctrine. The Synodic Priesthood Constitution describing the church's role in the modern world, entitled "Gaudium et Spes," recommends political restraint and concentrating on religious functions: "Genuine apostleship with which Jesus empowered his church does not have a political character.... The goal posed by Jesus before his church is of a religious character.... The power...with which the church can inspire the present-day human community rests on belief and love realized in life, and not on any external domination obtained with the help of purely human methods.... The church's utmost desire is to serve for the benefit of all and be able to develop freely under all kinds of governments that recognize the basic rights of the individual and the family, as well as the needs of society.... The church only uses earthly things to the degree necessary in light of its mission. However, it does not pin its hopes on privileges granted by the secular authority. Moreover, the church may give up some of its legally acquired rights immediately if it turns out that their use casts doubt on the sincerity of the church, or if new circumstances demand a new system of relations."

Voice of Contempt, Voice of Dialogue

However, not to make my conclusions sound false, we should pay tribute to the bishops. The episcopate recently displayed two signs of a different nature. First, there was the "Bishops' Address on Dialogue and Tolerance" and later a statement by the Episcopate Media Commission.

Comparing the address with the "Bishops' Word From Jasna Gora" gives food for thought. The address is a beautiful example of the Christian approach toward an opponent, which calls for understanding of the latter's reasoning and for viewing the opponents the way they view themselves. The address brings forward the idea that decent people, too, can support a viewpoint that differs from their own. It recognizes pluralism of opinions as an essentially positive phenomenon. One does not have to hold lengthy discussions about the harm of the church's political engagement; it is enough to read the "Word From Jasna Gora" in light of the "Address." The attribution of exclusively evil intentions to the opponents, the reduction of complex notions to the primitive division into bad communists and good anticommunists—this is what the bishops accomplished at Jasna Gora. This always happens when religious or at least the church's reasoning is used in political discussions.

The bishops recently noticed the distressing results of the aggressive political involvement of certain Catholic media. The Episcopate Media Commission has released a statement pointing out that "certain Catholic media, including 'Radio Maryja' unfortunately, have become instruments for disseminating untrue information or, as happened on a number of occasions, even libeling presidential candidates." (GAZETA No. 248—ed.)

The episcopate's address and the commission's statement seem to indicate that the bishops have realized the traps accompanying the political engagement, which they failed to avoid in their election activities. The opinion that the church's engagement in politics eventually turns against itself was proved once again.

The Price of Politics

Let us return to the "Bishops' Word From Jasna Gora." While reading it, one has the impression that church superiors firmly believe that entire Polish society is instinctively striving for a "Catholic Poland." The bishops write: "The people...want to have such person at the post (of head of state—ed.) who...would guarantee historic, cultural, and Christian continuity."

We may ignore the question on whether Kwasniewski can be considered totally detached from the Polish tradition. Still, there remain the 20 percent of voters who cast their votes for Tyminski in 1990 and hundreds of thousands of Urban's NIE readers. Thus, what kind of people does Poland actually have, and what do they want? Polish problems are really too complex to draw a simple

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line dividing good from bad, communists from anticommunists. Jaroslaw Gowin wrote (RZECZPOSPOLITA No. 222—ed.) "The belief that the division line runs between the Polish 'blacks' and 'reds' is more than merely erroneous. It is also dangerous, given that it pushes us toward a conflict of outlooks, which is ruinous for both the state and the church." We would like to agree with that opinion, adding that those are the bishops' own analyses that lead to the restoration of Poland's fatal division into "blacks" and "reds."

The climate of our political discussions has been poisoned for a long time and includes demagoguery, unjust yet categorical assessments, and replacement of substantial debates by ideological labels. We know all that only too well. Does the church have to contribute to that? In the long run, would it not be better for the church if it stayed on the sidelines of political conflicts? Would it not gain authority by exercising reservation in making assessments? Would not everybody, including believers and nonbelievers, the state, and the church, gain if amidst quarrels we could find support in the institution that would not meddle in politics and would persistently uphold principles?

Politicians are for making politics. Democracy needs them. However, it is their fate that they dwell inside the political quagmire and thus are engaged in partiality, parochialism, and demagoguery. The church, which primarily cares about elevated values, should be free of all that.

Consequences of UN Security Council Membership

WS1711133895 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 15 Nov 95 pp 1, 4

[Article by Maksymilian Berezowski: "On the UN Security Council, an Opportunity for Polish Diplomacy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *What are the consequences of the fact that Poland has been accepted for a two-year term as one of 10 nonpermanent members of the UN Security Council? What privileges or challenges are we to expect? What will be the new responsibilities of our diplomacy?*

During his recent visit to Poland, UN Secretary-General Butrus-Ghali thanked our country for its active support of the UN. How is that support going to be different now that we have been chosen as a member of the Security Council?

The Security Council plays a very specific and crucial role in the UN. It consists of five permanent members—the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and China—which may advance major world issues (if they join forces to some extent) or, on the contrary, bar decisions that at least one of them finds disadvantegous by exercising their right of veto (even each one separately).

It is true that the supreme authority is the General Assembly. But because it represents all 185 members, it cannot remain in session incessantly, to say nothing of the fact that such a huge body cannot be expected to operate efficiently, swiftly, and unanimously, especially in times of international crises, when time is of the essence.

To slightly unveil the secret, we should add that sessions of the General Assembly often provide an opportunity for more or less lengthy speeches delivered by ministers, kings, and presidents, the sense of which becomes elusive in the deluge. From my numerous visits to the building on the East River, I remember complaints about the overabundance of words, immediately followed by further contributions.

The Security Council, on the other hand, consisting of representatives of merely 15 states, is capable of dealing with major international issues and conflicts as they arise. It also has the power of exercising its authority and often even making decisions that are binding on the rest—even on issues of war and peace. Sitting at the same table with the "Big Five" for two years, nonpermanent members of the Security Council directly participate in this process and may contribute to international solutions even though they do not have the right of veto.

Whether they take that opportunity depends not only on favorable circumstances, but, to a huge extent, it is up to them. If the ticket to the elite "club" is to be more than prestigious compensation, the diplomacy of a nonpermanent member of the Security Council should account for all of the intricacies of complex decisions, open arguments, backstage agreements, and discreet pacts. If the diplomats are to take the opportunity of their relatively meek status to influence international developments and win recognition, they must show initiative, flexibility, objectivity, and high professionalism.

It must be considered that, on key issues, the United States, for example, is represented on the Security Council by seasoned politicians who very often have close ties to presidents—for instance, U.S. Ambassador to the UN Ms. Madeleine Albright, whom I personally know.

Poland was chosen to be the representative of our region in the Security Council also because we have won the respect of many states for long years of devoted service in difficult UN peace missions: Polish soldiers and diplomats have been stationed on many continents.

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The current term of Poland on the UN Security Council, which begins on 1 January 1996, the first since the end of the Cold War, does not offer any privileges, but it provides access to diplomatic sanctuaries and brings with it new responsibilities. We must thus play this into an advantage that would allow us to move up in the crowded ranking of leading world states.

Bartoszewski on Russia's Attitude Toward NATO

MK1811103695 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Nov 95 p 9

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski by Vladimir Abarinov; place and date not given: "Warsaw Thinks That Moscow Should Negotiate NATO's Expansion With the Alliance Members. Foreign Minister of the Republic of Poland Wladyslaw Bartoszewski Answers Questions of Your SEGODNYA Correspondent"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Abarinov] Moscow expects the discussion on NATO's expansion to take some new turns.

[Bartoszewski] For us, the primary issue is good relations with Russia. We are not NATO spokesmen nor are we mediators between NATO and Russia. Negotiations with Moscow on this issue should be conducted by NATO capitals. As for Warsaw's stand, we have always thought and have said that, without NATO's partnership relations with Russia and Ukraine, any security system in Europe is out of the question. I attended the signing of the "Partnership for Peace" agreement by Russia, and I was one of the first to wholeheartedly congratulate Minister Kozyrev. However, we do not understand some of Russia's positions. Russia is maintaining active economic cooperation with NATO countries, whereas a diabolic image of NATO is still being impressed on the Russian public. Given that image, the society will certainly fear NATO. Politicians, in turn, refer to public opinion. It turns into a vicious circle. You surely know what a gulf has been interposed between the Poles and the Germans. Alongside the Poles, the peoples of the USSR, better than anyone else, are aware of the reasons for that mutual alienation. I was a prisoner at Auschwitz myself; nevertheless, I do a lot for Polish-German reconciliation because it meets the interests of Europe as a whole. The attitude toward NATO, certainly, is your internal affair. I was saying, however, that we actually do not understand that position. Why isn't Russia disturbed by Norway's membership in NATO? Polish-Russian economic relations are very good; our two nations have lived side by side for thousands of years; my mother sang Russian songs, she studied in a Russian school in prerevolutionary Warsaw; I have never heard at home anything bad about Russians. Politics is another matter. Our assessments of this or that historical period are differentiated, and, being a specialist in modern history, I feel easy on that point. True, our relations have suffered from a lot of wrongdoing, but it depends on us whether this negative experience can be used for mutual benefit. [passage omitted]

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Consultations on Basic Treaty With Ukraine End

AU1911133595 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The round of consultations, at the level of first deputies of the Romania and Ukraine foreign ministers, on formulations in the preamble and Article 2 of the draft basic political treaty and on bilateral relations has concluded in Bucharest today.

The two sides decided to continue the efforts to finalize the basic political treaty by finding a text of acceptable bilateral compromise and by adapting the articles that refer to national minorities to European standards.

Referring to the negotiations on regrading the continental plateau and the possibility of Snakes Island [Insula Serpilor] becoming a territorial issue, that is, subjects approached during the news conference that followed the rounds of consultations, Anton Buteyko, head of the Ukrainian delegation, stated that his country is ready to settle the problem of the continental plateau through judicial instruments. As for Snakes Island, the Ukrainian diplomat said that this is part of Ukrainian territory according to judicial settlements between Romania and the former Soviet Union. In reply, Marcel Dinu, the head of the Romanian delegation to the consultation, stressed the position of the Romanian Government, communicated to the government of the Former Soviet Union, regarding the way in which Snakes Island entered the Soviet Union's possession as a result of an imposed protocol.

During the round of consultations, the two sides discussed the possibility of holding a meeting early next year between the prime ministers of Ukraine and Romania, with a view to giving an impetus to economic and commercial relations by signing some bilateral accords.

UDMR Council Opposes Romanian, Slovak Laws

LD1911130095 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The little parliament of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] Council of Representatives, has expressed solidarity with the Hungarians of Slovakia against the Slovak language law, and with those on hunger strike in Transylvania against the Romanian education law. The body urges Hungarian-Romanian roundtable talks, but the Romanian intellectual elite has not yet responded to this. Our correspondent Peter Marvanyi reports.

[Marvanyi] The council's document again states that guaranteeing truly equal rights for the ethnic Hungarians and Romanians in Romania can be the basis of the historic reconciliation of Romania and Hungary. This is effectively the confirmation of the council chairman's message yesterday, which was obviously aimed at both governments. According to this, the settlement of the ethnic minority situation must be the very first step of reconciliation.

According to another document of the council, the Slovak language law jeopardizes the national existence of the Hungarian community there. It is a legal rule borne in a cynical and nationalist fever, which protects the majority from the minority and is in contradiction with the European norms and integrational principles, as well as the Slovak Constitution and the Slovak-Hungarian basic treaty.

The UDMR's Council of Representatives finally assured its solidarity with those on hunger strike against the education law, and also took upon itself the fasting and prayer initiated by those in Mures county. This movement has been going on for two weeks now and is slowly spreading to the whole of Transylvania as a quiet and gentle, but emphasized form of protest.

Prime Minister Denies National Currency Crisis

AU1911134795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview granted to our radio station and broadcast in the "Political Week" program this morning, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu stated that we are not going through a currency crisis and that in about one week things will go back to normal.

The prime minister said that the executive has established a package of measures that will be approved in the government meeting on Tuesday [21 November]. In the field of commercial policy, those measures envisage after 1 December eliminating the custom tax exemption in case of certain processable industrial products, establishing quotas for some raw materials, and beginning imports through leasing, by introducing certain improved mechanisms.

Among the causes that brought about the drop of the national currency compared to the U.S. dollar, the prime minister mentioned the declining level of the commercial balance, which is based on large imports this year of technology and installations necessary for the modernization of industry.

Other causes according to Prime Minister Vacaroiu are the unjustified increase of consumer goods and household goods imports as well as strong attempts in tax dodging. Therefore, the government will introduce a system of calculating the custom tax at obligatory

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minimal prices, which will lead to the diminution of imports that are not required.

In conclusion, the prime minister said that Romania has the capability to enter an equilibrium regarding the commercial and payment balance.

Vacaroiu, Speaker Gherman Greet PUNR Convention

AU1711130195 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, in the conference hall of the Romexpo exhibition complex in the capital city, the proceedings of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] National Convention were opened. The event is attended by about 150 delegates from all over the country, as well as numerous guests in the person of the leaders of the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania], PRM [Greater Romania Party], PDAR [Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania], MER [Romanian Ecology Movement], and PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party], as well as members of the leadership of the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor], PD [Democratic Party], PSDR [Romanian Social-Democratic Party], PS [Socialist Party], and PAC [Civic Alliance Party]. Also present were the speaker of the Romanian Senate, Oliviu Gherman, and Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, as well as trade union and diplomatic corps representatives.

In the opening of the session the guests made speeches greeting the convention. In his speech Gherman pointed out that the PUNR's association with the government is an act of political maturity, which allowed for the deepening of the democratization process of the political life, the continuation and speeding up of economic-social reform, as well as the strengthening of social protection measures, which accelerates the process of Romania's integration within European and euro-atlantic structures. The Senate speaker also expressed his satisfaction over the understanding displayed by the PUNR regarding the significance of President Ion Iliescu's proposal on the Romanian-Hungarian historic reconciliation, after which he expressed his belief that the two political parties [PUNR and PDSR] will continue their cooperation in this field.

In turn, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu presented an analysis of work done during the three years of his government, pointing out that the almost complete achievement of the initial goals generated stability at the macroeconomic level that is able to vouch for Romania's future integration within European and euro-atlantic structures. The prime minister also drew attention to the fact that numerous attempts are being made to destabilize the country, both from the inside and from abroad, after which he stressed the need for all political forces to make joint efforts to overcome the current crisis period. In the conclusion of his speech Prime Minister Vacaroiu thanked the PUNR for its direct support granted to the government and called for PUNR-PDSR unity to be preserved.

The next speaker, PDAR President Victor Surdu, positively assessed their cooperation with the PUNR within the National Unity Bloc, after which he pointed out that certain clarifications are necessary with respect to the PUNR's participating in the government, as the PDAR is currently in opposition.

PRM leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor suggested in his speech that an appeal should be issued by all Romanian political forces addressed to all European institutions, calling on them to intervene for the release of the jailed members of the Ilascu group, as well as other Romanian patriots deprived of their liberty [in the self-styled Dniester Republic] for having defended the Romanian cause.

PSM Deputy President Nicolae Ontanu assessed that the political forces ought to make joint efforts to halt the current economic decline of the country, and a solution to that problem, in his opinion, would be the setting up of a strong center-leftwing alliance.

Following this, the representatives of the PNL-CD [National Liberal Party-Democratic Convention], PAC, and PS pointed out that despite the fact that their approach to the major problems of the nation is different, cooperation is indispensable among all political parties to defend the interests of the nation.

Our correspondents Laurentiu Vaduva and Daniel Ruse also reported that currently PUNR President Gheorghe Funar is presenting the PUNR Standing Bureau activity report to the delegates, following which the agenda includes the report of the censors' committee.

PUNR Activity Reported

AU1711183695 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At this time, the proceedings of the National Convention of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] are continuing at the ROMEXPORT Exhibition Complex in Bucharest. After the presentation of welcoming messages from the guests, PUNR President Gheorghe Funar read the activity report of the party's Standing Bureau. Here are a few points of that document.

The PUNR has joined the government in order to effectively and responsibly contribute to ensuring the

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political, economic, and social stability of the country. The PUNR presence in the government creates great chances of peace for Romania and ensures that it will remain strategically integral. PUNR is interested in consolidating the Romanian political center, the only one capable of offering a third choice for the electorate in the 1996 elections after the social-democratic trend, mainly represented by the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR], and the right-wing political alliance, represented by the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. Likewise, the PUNR speaks out for concluding the basic treaty with Hungary and believes that the Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation can be achieved provided the following conditions are met:

Hungary should recognize the atrocities committed on the Romanian territories after the Vienna Diktat;

Hungary should reconsider its foreign policy toward Romania and the Romanians everywhere;

Hungary should no longer interfere in Romania's domestic affairs.

In conclusion, the report emphasizes that the PUNR considers Romania capable of offering sure guarantees of peace, security, and stability in its region. The PUNR can ensure the necessary economic, political, and social partnership and, in the opinion of this party, it is a sure alternative for promoting the country's integration in the European and euro-atlantic structures.

The report of the PUNR's Auditing Commission was then presented. At this time, the participants are debating the various materials submitted to discussion—our correspondents, Laurentiu Vaduva and Daniel Ruse, report.

Funar Reelected Party President

AU1811202795 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 18 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] One hour ago, the National Convention of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] reelected Gheorghe Funar to the position of party president. Therefore, with 301 votes in favor, 141 against, and 14 annulled, Gheorghe Funar defeated his competitor Valer Suian who was proposed by PUNR Bucharest branch.

Valer Suian was elected to the position of PUNR general secretary, defeating with 194 votes his competitors Ioan Gavra, who achieved 183 votes, and Senator Viorel Salagean, who achieved 63 votes in favor.

Currently, the proceedings of the PUNR National Convention continues with election, through open vote, of the members of the Standing Bureau and of the Central Executive Bureau.

We remind our listeners that today, the second day of the National Convention proceedings, the participants adopted the statute, doctrine, and the economic and social program of the party. [passage omitted]

I was expecting to have a competitor, Gheorghe Funar told our radio station exclusively after the results of the vote had been announced. I was aware of certain attempts to destabilize the party that came from some people who never wanted what is good for Romanians. Luckily, Funar continued, these attempts failed and our party came out stronger from this confrontation.

Referring to the cooperation with the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Gheorghe Funar stressed that this cooperation will continue because, quote, PDSR continuously needs the PUNR, unquote.

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Federal

Perry, FRY Delegation Meet at Dayton Talks

LD1711225295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2103 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dayton, Nov. 17 (TANJUG)—U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry met on Friday with the top Yugoslav representatives at the Bosnia peace talks at the Wright-Patterson air force base.

The meeting focused on the implementation of a peace plan that should be agreed on in Dayton. The issue is very important for the U.S. Administration, in view of the present sharp disagreements with the Republican congressional leaders.

Ahead of the election year, Republican congressmen oppose U.S. President Bill Clinton's decision on the participation of U.S. troops in an international force for ensuring the implementation of a Bosnia peace agreement.

The meeting with Perry was held in a good atmosphere, like the successful talks with Clinton's national security advisor Anthony Lake on Thursday, it was said.

U.S. Foreign Secretary [as received] Warren Christopher is to return to Dayton late on Friday. Christopher has shortened his visit to Japan because of this.

Analysts say the gathering of top U.S. officials in Dayton shows that the talks are in the final phase and that the reaching of a solution can be expected in the next few days.

Jovic Encouraged by Dayton 'Progress'

LD1911165795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1448 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kragujevac, 19 Nov (SRNA)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] welcomes the efforts of all the participants at the negotiations in Dayton, above all the United States and other members of the international community, to find a peaceful solution, Borisav Jovic, chairman of the Federal Assembly's Foreign Policy Committee, stated.

"We are encouraged by reports hitherto which have indicated that a certain degree of progress has been achieved at the negotiations, and as regards the ending of the talks, it matters not if they end in a few days or in a week. What is important is that they end successfully,' Jovic said in today's Sign of the Times program on Radio Kragujevac.

He also assessed that several very important effects would be achieved by the successful implementation of the Erdut agreement, which has been guaranteed by the international community.

According to him, the agreement secures and guarantees the survival of the Serb people in Baranja and western Srem, not only of those who remained there, but also of all refugees who can now return; the agreement also guarantees all the rights, including representation in the authorities. Jovic went on to say that "the causes of the exodus of the Serb people have been removed; there was also a great danger of a conflict erupting between Croatian forces and Serbs in this area and of the FRY being dragged into the war."

He stressed that the Serb people in western Srem and Baranja, now under the protection of the international community, have won all the rights which were threatened when the Croatian Democratic Union came to power in Croatia and because of which it "put up resistance and started a rebellion," which in the end led to conflict. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the charges for war crimes raised by The Hague Tribunal against three former Yugoslav People's Army officers, Jovic cited a statement by the federal government saying that the FRY cannot violate its own constitution, according to which a Yugoslav citizen cannot be handed over to a foreign court.

"Naturally, we are against war crimes and we will prosecute war criminals if there should be any," Jovic said.

"The international tribunal can send documents in connection with those who allegedly committed war crimes to our state, to our courts, and then an assessment will be made here, according to our laws, whether there is any basis for their indictment and whether they will be prosecuted," Jovic said.

On the other hand, the FRY is prepared to send documents on war crimes if they are at its disposal "to The Hague Tribunal for anyone being prosecuted in The Hague or a third country," he said.

Serbian Opposition Parties Comment on Talks

LD1711224295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the biggest party in Serbia, Vuk Draskovic, said on Friday at a debate in Belgrade on the position of the media that the moment of decision was near and that Dayton will 'probably put a definite end to the war'.

Vice president of the opposition Democratic Party (DS), Slobodan Gavrilovic, said on Friday that the making of peace was a crucial condition for serious changes in the regon and that all the parties to the conflict, instead of making maximal demands, will have to compromise.

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Gavrilovic said, at a news conference, that he was hopeful that the U.S. will use its authority to help reach an agreement.

The leader of the opposition Serbian Radical Party-Nikola Pasic, Jovan Glamocanin, said that the negotiators in Dayton were now addressing critical and key issues and that the Yugoslav delegation, headed by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, was defending there the sovereign rights of the Serbian people.

He said that after the signing of the peace agreement and the lifting of sanctions, the daily problems of the population would have to be solved.

UNHCR Official Calls Refugee Return 'Complex'

LD1911142095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1327 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 19 (TANJUG)—The repatriation of nearly 3.5 million refugees and displaced persons from the former Yugoslavia will be a slow and very complex process. said Margaret O'Keefe, newly appointed chief of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The precondition for the return of refugees is the signing of a peace plan under which all three sides have to agree who should return and where and to guarantee the observation of basic human rights to all, O'Keefe told TANJUG.

A mere signing of peace in Dayton will not restore people's trust after all that was happening, because all three sides in the civil war in the former Yugoslavia both produced and received refugees, she said.

Overall destruction of houses and property took place on all sides, so the refugees will move in three directions on the ground, O'Keefe said.

This is why the UNHCR must be certain that people will not be returned against their will, that safety and dignity will be guaranteed to those who decide to return and that the newly arrived refugees would not expel the old ones, she said.

Asked when about 250,000 Krajina Serbs, whom the Croatian Army expelled in early August, can be expected to return home, O'Keefe said that after everything that had happened, trust could not be expected to be restored overnight.

We do not know what will happen to Serbs who lived in Croatia—whether they will become Yugoslav citizens, remain here as guest workers or return, she said.

However, only after their human rights have been guaranteed will we start receiving applications in which they will confirm with their signatures that they wish to return voluntarily, she added.

O'Keefe said the UNHCR had seen that Yugoslavia and its citizens had opened their doors to refugees of all nationalities since the first day and that the organization hoped the Yugoslavs would leave their doors open to those who wish to stay.

Asked how Yugoslavia and its citizens would bear the burden of assistance to more than 60,000 registered and at least another 200,000 unregistered refugees, O'Keefe said that both the international community and the UNHCR were aware that the sanctions had exhausted the country's economy and people.

The UNHCR will try to act as a catalyst between the Yugoslav Government and governments of other countries that wish to help on a bilateral basis, i.e. as some kind of a link in rendering assistance to Yugoslavia.

We have agreed in contacts with international representatives in Belgrade that there can be no stability in Europe without stability in Yugoslavia and this is why the industrialized countries should greatly assist the revitalization of the Yugoslav economy, O'Keefe said.

Charge Discusses Possible Return to OSCE

LD1711233195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2257 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vienna Nov. 17 (TANJUG)—Charge d'Affaires of the Yugoslav Embassy in Vienna Dobrosav Veizovic met on Friday with Secretary-General Wilchelm Hoeynck of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) about the modalities and prospects for Yugoslavia's return to the organization.

Yugoslavia's membership in the OSCE was frozen after international sanctions were imposed against Yugoslavia in May 1992.

Veizovic and Hoeynck also spoke about current preparations for the engagement and participation of the OSCE in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the completion of the Dayton talks and the expected signing of the definite peace settlement. Veizovic spoke about Yugoslavia's occasional difficulties in circulating official material for the delegations and missions to the OSCE.

Greek Firm, Ship Builders Discuss Cooperation

LD1711202195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the Government of

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the Serbian province of Vojvodina, Spaso Komad, received on Friday the president of the Greek company Forum, Martin Sterios Katunis, with whom he discussed the promotion of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece after the lifting of sanctions.

The provincial Ministry of Information said that Katunis showed special interest for the development of cooperation with ship-building yards.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has at its disposal modern technology and experts who can secure and manufacture goods meeting the highest world standards, Komad said.

There are five modern ship-building yards on the Yugoslav rivers of Danube and Sava, flowing through Vojvodina. They have delivered to buyers abroad, since the introduction of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, barges, pushboats and smaller river vessels whose value exceeds one million dollars annually.

FOCUS Issue Dedicated to National Minorities

LD1711221495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1839 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—Edited by the news agency TANJUG's world service, the latest issue of the English-language publication 'FOCUS' has been brought out dedicated predominantly to the question of the position of national minorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.).

This issue of TANJUG's publication which is published twice a month contains the basic data on the position of ethnic Albanians and Hungarians, the two strongest national minorities in the F.R.Y., and also on the position of ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins in the neighbouring Albania and Hungary.

'FOCUS' contains an analysis of the population policy following the expulsion of Serbs from the former Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

What is of particular importance for the chroniclers of developments in the areas of Yugoslavia is a chronology of most significant events and reactions at home and abroad to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

A chronology of key events is part of every issue of 'FOCUS', along with the publication of important documents.

Published this time are the full texts of original documents of an agreement signed by representatives of Croatia and the region of Eastern Slavonija, Baranja and Western Srem.

Also presented is the text of a memorandum of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning ethnic cleansing of Serbs in Croatia and the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), the state the Serbs proclaimed in their historical and ethnic areas after the Zagreb regime forcibly seceded from former Yugoslavia in mid-1991.

Serbia

Minister: Milosevic Under 'Pressure' at Ohio Talks

AU1911191595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Despite all the pressure at the Dayton talks, President Milosevic has managed firmly and decisively to defend the interests of our country, the Serb people in the Serb Republic, and the rights of the people in the Srem-Baranja region. This was stated by Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Svetozar Krstic to Belgrade Radio's first channel. [passage omitted]

Ruling Party: Peace Main Political Objective

LD1811001095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2354 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 17 (TANJUG)—Vice President of the ruling socialist party of Serbia Goran Percevic said Friday that peace in former Yugoslavia was the main political objective of that party.

The signing of the peace agreement and lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia are 'two parallel steps which lead to the same goal-lasting peace and stability in the region,' Percevic told a party rally in the Serbian town of Gornji Milanovac.

Yugoslav Minister Tomica Raicevic told the same rally that the normalization of relations with world financial institutions was an essential condition for implementing the economic stabilization program.

Raicevic especially underscored the importance of establishing contacts with the International Monetary Fund.

President Dusan Mihajlovic of the New Democracy Party, the Socialists' coalition partner, said Friday that the policy of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic had protected the citizens of the republic from anarchy and being drawn into the senseless war which is being waged in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

'These days we shall see indeed how correct that policy was, because an end to the war and the establishment of lasting and just peace are in sight, and the lifting of the sanctions,' Mihajlovic said at a rally in Pristina

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organized to promote new democracy for the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo and Metohija.

'We already see Serbia in the international community, where its rightful place has always been,' Mihajlovic said.

Mihajlovic appealed to all well-meaning citizens of the province (where a strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians is active) to hold out their hands to one another and work together in the interest of Kosovo and Metohija, and Serbia, and its joining the international community.

Seselj Wants U.S. Clarification on Milosevic

AU1811164795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 95 p 5

[Report by N.B. Odalovic: "Negotiating Crisis Artificial"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] has decided to send a protest note to the U.S. Government, demanding clarification on whether the U.S. Government plans to return President Slobodan Milosevic to Serbia or not, Vojislav Seselj said at yesterday's SRS news conference.

As a reason for sending such a note of protest Seselj said that life in Serbia could not be consolidated without certainty over "whether Milosevic will be tried in The Hague or not."

"If The Hague Tribunal realizes that Milosevic is the first one who must be tried for crimes, then there is no need to send anyone else there," Seselj said.

The SRS leader addressed the Dayton talks, stressing that the negotiating crisis was artificially created. During this negotiating crisis Milosevic played it tough for a bit, but then accepted everything," Seselj said. [passage omitted]

Papers Devote Extensive Coverage to Ohio Talks

AU1711172795

[FBIS Editorial Report] All the main newspapers published in Serbia on 17 November devote considerable attention to the Dayton negotiations on the former Yugoslavia and carry mainly factual reports on the status of the talks.

According to a 300-word TANJUG-attributed article entitled "Clinton Has Postponed His Visit to Japan, Christopher Is Returning to Dayton," published in POLITIKA on page 3, the peace talks are continuing in Dayton and that "as learned, they are concentrating on the issues concerning Serb-Muslim relations, while relations between Muslims and Croats, considering the agreement on strengthening their federation in Bosnia, are thought to have been solved."

An approximately 1,000-word untitled report by New York correspondent Darko Ribnikar, appearing on pages 1 and 2, describes the visit by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Dayton and his talks with the heads of the negotiating teams, saying that "Izetbegovic and Silajdzic are constantly presenting maximalist demands, the former allegedly being concerned with grabbing as much territory as possible for the Muslim state and the later being opposed to the division of Bosnia and demanding a unitary state."

NASA BORBA carries an approximately 1,300-word report on page 1 by Washington correspondent Slobodan Pavlovic. In his report entitled "Agreement Or Break Up By Monday," Pavlovic devotes considerable attention to the discussions on FRY sanctions in the United Nations and the chances of them being suspended. He also writes about the course of the negotiations being held on Wright-Patterson Air Base, and cites State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns as saying that the "Dayton marathon has come to a crossroads: The desired agreement will either be reached by the three presidents in the next few days (which, as indicated, could then be officially verified at a ceremony at the White House), or the negotiations will end. They would then be followed by a search for new solutions during the usual winter war pause in Bosnia.

"In any case, Christopher's trips in the next few days are a very reliable signal on the course of the finale in Dayton."

In its 700-word article on the Dayton talks on page 7, entitled "Talks Are in the Final Stage," POLITIKA EKSPRES cites a TANJUG correspondent on the course of the negotiations, who focuses attention on the outstanding contentious issues in the talks. The article says, among other things, that "as the talks have entered the final stage, all the participants are trying to find a common language and successfully end the negotiations, with the exception of, one could say, the Muslim side." He also points out the importance of the successful conclusion of the talks for the United States.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI carries on page 2 an approximately 900-word report by Miroslav Zaric entitled "Weekend Decisions." Zaric attaches considerable attention to reports that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is planning to cut short his visit to Japan and return to Dayton this weekend. He writes: "If everything goes the way the Americans would like and expect, Christopher would spend a few days in Dayton, and then the U.S. negotiating team would join President

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Clinton in Washington on Monday or Tuesday, to put the official U.S. seal on the agreement.

"A U.S. representative expects that the negotiators in Dayton need between 48 and 72 hours to 'polish' the agreement after Christopher returns to Dayton. According to him, this is expected today."

VOJSKA of 16 November on page 36 carries an approximately 1,000-word article on the Dayton talks by D.M, entitled "A Step Toward Peace." Describing the general course of the negotiations in the past two weeks, the author then concludes that "it is too early to talk about the real scope and results of the negotiations in Ohio, although the very fact that the three sides have set at the roundtable shows clearly that, apart from the step evidently already made toward peace, this meeting, which the Yugoslav side sincerely wishes, can very quickly become historic, as peace would finally definitely return to Bosnia after three years of war."

According to the commentary entitled "Opposing Interests" in the same issue of VOJSKA, appearing on page 5, commentator Predrag Simic writes that "The fact that the U.S. Administration has invested much in the negotiations in Dayton supports the frequently repeated claim that they are 'bound to succeed.' However, the question that is increasingly being asked is whether the talks will bring only the military and territorial status quo and the end of hostilities, or whether they will represent a prelude to the lasting stabilization in the Balkans. Perhaps the greatest paradox in the course of the talks thus far lies in the fact that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the side that has made the greatest contribution to peace, has been exposed to the greatest pressure."

POLITIKA Urges 'Full Enqiry' Into Srebrenica

AU1911165295 Paris AFP in English
1640 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov 19 (AFP)—A newspaper close to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic called Sunday on the Bosnian Serbs to prove to the world they did not commit mass genocide during the capture of the Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica by opening a full enquiry into alleged atrocities.

The influential Belgrade daily POLITIKA urged the Serbs to launch the probe into the July offensive into Srebrenica in a sign that Belgrade may be trying to distance itself further from its Serb brethren in Bosnia and even sacrifice the beleaguered Bosnian Serb leadership to the peace process.

Bosnian Serb authorities should "proceed with an enquiry in the presence of (international) investigators and check the place where they are supposed to have dug mass graves," POLITIKA said Sunday.

This would enable the Serbs "to cleanse the Serb people of Bosnia of the monstrous accusation of genocide," the daily said, adding that if the charges of atrocities proved false the Bosnian Serbs would then be able to pressure their proxies negotiating a peace settlement in Dayton, Ohio from a position of strength.

"But if the evidence (of atrocities) is even partially true, the Bosnian Serb authorities will have to conduct an investigation 100 times more rigorous still."

As many as 8,000 Moslem men from Srebrenica were allegedly rounded up by the Bosnian Serbs after the sparsely-defended UN-declared "safe area" fell July 11, and are believed to have been executed and buried in mass graves.

The incident prompted the International Criminal Tribunal on warcrimes in former Yugoslavia, currently in session in The Hague, to issue fresh charges last week against Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and army chief General Ratko Mladic for their part in the alleged genocide.

The Hague tribunal said the attack on Srebrenica was "one of the bloodiest acts of the Yugoslav war" in which "many thousands were slaughtered within only 10 days" after the Serbs began their advance July 6.

Tribunal Judge Fuad Riad said "a truly terrible massacre of the Moslem population appears to have taken place ... scenes from Hell written on the darkest page of human history."

The judge referred to evidence detailing thousands of men executed and buried in mass graves, hundreds of men buried alive, men and women mutilated and slaughtered, and children killed before their mothers' eyes.

POLITIKA warned the Bosnian Serbs that if this evidence proved to be true, Belgrade would not step in to help or defend its erstwhile ally in Bosnia and could even abandon indicted war criminals to their fate.

"If someone has slaughtered a child or shot a bullet into the back of the neck of a defenceless man, the fact that he is Serb cannot be a mitigating circumstance in the eyes of the Serbs of Serbia or of Bosnia," POLITIKA warned.

The United States has indicated that the prosecution of Karadzic, Mladic and the other 43 Serbs and seven Croats indicted by the Hague tribunal should be included as an integral part of any Bosnian peace settlement.

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Washington has also insisted that indicted suspects be barred from holding office or standing in elections to the new parliament and presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina once a definitive peace deal is concluded.

But the US-led drive to link the prosecution of war criminals to an overall settlement for Bosnia currently being thrashed out in Dayton has threatened to undermine the talks, with Serb delegates under Milosevic hitherto reluctant to sacrifice the Bosnian Serb leadership to secure a peace deal.

Evidence of Genocide Against Serbs Presented

AU1711172595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 95

[Report by Marina Stojadinovic—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The sixth report on war crimes in the former Yugoslavia that was adopted by the Federal Government two days ago was today presented to journalists. The document will be submitted to the United Nations. Zoran Stojanovic, Djordje Mijatovic, and Judge Ilija Simic expounded on the document.

[Stojadinovic] The foreign media are very interested in war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. The sixth report of the Committee for Gathering Evidence of War Crimes Against Humanity and International Law deals with 178 cases. This is a great number of cases considering the time and methods employed to investigate each individual case, Zoran Stojanovic, chairman of the Government Committee for Gathering Evidence of War Crimes, said. He reiterated that contemporary methods were used and cases were classified into categories: willful killing of civilians, soldiers, children, and elderly people; inhuman treatment of soldiers, prisoners, children, and sick persons; desecration of cemeteries and churches, and ethnic cleansing.

The sixth report, however, did not manage to process crimes against Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina, but it does contain war crimes committed in western Slavonia at the beginning of May 1995. The document for the first time stresses that this is genocide against the Serb people. All types of evidence must be verified; the committee demands that legal procedures should not rely on newspaper reports. Certain governments are only using such sources. Therefore, we used our sources and data, Dr. Stojanovic stressed, and added that the Penal Code was being observed because simply questioning witnesses was relative [relativno]. In addition to the Federal Government's committee, authorities from the Serb Republic and their associates on the ground participated in gathering evidence for the sixth report. Expert procedures were employed during exhumation of certain bodies.

In response to journalists' questions as to why the committee was not cooperating more efficiently with non-governmental organizations, Zoran Stojanovic said:

[Stojanovic] You must believe that regarding cooperation with non-governmental organizations, we are truly open to cooperation and I would like to use the occasion, this news conference, to call on all non-governmental organizations who want to cooperate with the committee. I have done this several times, and I really believe that it would be good for the committee to cooperate with non-governmental organizations. I have to say that non-governmental organizations that deal with these issues have not exhibited too much interest.

[Stojadinovic] Judge Ilija Simic spoke about concentration camps, the number of which should be a warning. There were 371 camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 162 in the Republic of Croatia, while 21 camps existed in Slovenia at the beginning of the war. In the most monstrous prisons at the end of this century, Serbs were cruelly tortured; in Muslim prisons, the most numerous cases involve beheading and impaling, Judge Simic stressed.

Montenegro

Djukanovic Views U.S. Visit, Serb Dispute

AU2011101695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Nov 95 (Supplement) p 5

[Interview with Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic by Slobodan Pavlovic in Washington; date not given: "The Offer of the Port of Bar to NATO—Support to Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] For more than a week Montenegro has been without its leaders, who have scattered all over the United States. President Momir Bulatovic is confined (voluntarily) behind the wire fence of Wright-Peterson Air Base in Ohio, and Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic and Assembly Chairman Svetozar Marovic are in California at the moment, leading the delegation that, following the invitation by three local Congressmen, is bringing its private-official visit to the United States to a close this weekend.

Before they left for Los Angeles on Thursday [9 November] (where Milan Panic received them and organized a number of useful meetings with representatives of small and large Californian businesses, promising them that he would organize a meeting with U.S. Vice President Al Gore), the Montenegrin officials had

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undergone a Washington routine that is typical for official visits of this level—from Clinton's advisers at the White House, Congress, the IMF, and the World Bank, to the most renowned institutions, foundations, and universities.

This has been the first visit by some Yugoslav officials to the United States since UN sanctions were imposed in May 1992, and certainly the first visit ever in the organization and preparation of which the FRY Embassy to Washington has been so conspicuously uninvolved, even though the heads of the Assembly and the government of one of the two equal federal units that the Embassy represents in Washington were around the place for four days. This is, however, a story for some other occasion, and a surprise only to some of the (uninformed) hosts.

On this occasion we shall review all other aspects of this Yugoslav piercing of the American blockade.

[Djukanovic] Before our arrival here we thought that in the United States very little was known about Montenegro. Of course, this was our mistake. In places where we did not have our own people with accurate information on Montenegro, other people came with either well-intentioned or malicious information about us. So, basically, what the Americans knew about Montenegro was of doubtful validity. Therefore, we wanted to better acquaint all our hosts with the Montenegro of today and tomorrow.

[Pavlovic] However, what immediately became the major topic, and judging by reactions the same happened in Montenegro, is Montenegro's proposal to NATO, offering logistic support to the announced operation to implement peace in Bosnia. Some information released by the Pentagon says that on that occasion you specifically referred to the port of Bar. What did you propose to the Americans, and what sort of answer did you get?

[Djukanovic] Montenegro has been advocating a peaceful option ever since the crisis broke out in former Yugoslavia, and trying to make a constructive contribution to every peace initiative. Of course, we do not want to confine ourselves to mere verbal support for peace. The U.S. initiative, which is being negotiated in Dayton, we regard as one of the last chances for peace, and for that reason, in addition to our verbal support, we want to support it in its implementation. We believe it is quite realistic that those troops and equipment necessary to implement the U.S. initiative in Bosnia, after it hopefully meets with acceptance in Dayton, should be conveyed through Bar, being the most convenient communication for that purpose. This is to say, that idea is our concrete contribution to the implementation of peace in Bosnia. We made this proposal to our hosts, and I think they found it acceptable. Of course, they have still not expressed any definite attitude toward it, because this is the first time the proposal has been made to them.

[Pavlovic] Reactions from Podgorica disclose surprise at the proposal, even among the deputies of the Montenegrin Assembly.

[Djukanovic] I do not believe this could cause any surprise. Montenegro has been insisting that Bar should be opened for traffic, although so far it has been opened most frequently for humanitarian purposes. It is really a necessity to accomplish peace in Bosnia, and I think that it is an obligation of Montenegro to support peace in Bosnia. For the implementation of peace in Bosnia it will be necessary to convey troops and equipment, and the most rational and logical solution is to immediately open the port of Bar, so it could be used for all sorts of purposes—humanitarian, commercial, and all others.... And to make Bar a reception port from which troops and equipment would be conveyed further to Bosnia.

[Pavlovic] Has that proposal been presented in Dayton as well?

[Djukanovic] I am not familiar with all that is being discussed in Dayton, because those talks are under an embargo. I made this initiative to my hosts in Washington, at the Pentagon and at the White House.

[Pavlovic] What was their reaction?

[Djukanovic] They appeared to be quite interested in the idea, and said they would take it into consideration. [passage omitted]

[Pavlovic] In the statement reported by THE WASHINGTON POST, you said that you expected the peace negotiations on Bosnia to end successfully soon. What makes you think that, and how soon that will be?

[Djukanovic] I think that the U.S. initiative has two positive things. First, I think that it offers a realistically possible compromise at the moment, which is a compromise that regards demands made by all sides. That is, that boundaries within Bosnia should be drawn in a just way, that a necessary minimum of unity in Bosnia ought to be secured, and that linking up with the neighboring countries should be made possible for those who would want that in the future. At first sight, it is a compromise that is difficult to accomplish, but it does not necessarily have to be so..

[Pavlovic] One of the questions discussed in Dayton is the problem of eastern Slavonia. However, Prevlaka [a semi-island at the Croatian-Montenegrin border] is not being mentioned. To what extent is it part of an

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all-out peace settlement that is being prepared at the negotiations?

[Djukanovic] I am not familiar with all that is being discussed in Dayton, but since one talks about an integral settlement for the entire former Yugoslavia, then there is no doubt that the issue of Prevlaka will be discussed there as well. President Tudjman is in Dayton, and it is expected that a settlement will be found for both eastern Slavonia and Prevlaka.

[Pavlovic] What kind of settlement do you expect for Prevlaka?

[Djukanovic] The one they agree upon! Prevlaka is a matter of extreme importance for Montenegro and the FRY. Over the past four years we have discussed that matter with Croatia many times, and that is the best confirmation of our desire to resolve the problem of Prevlaka in a peaceful way. We believe that no issue is so disputed as to require new victims, and the fact that Prevlaka has been placed under the temporary authority of the United Nations speaks for its disputed character. I think that the United Nations will find a solution for Prevlaka that will be satisfactory for both Croatia and Montenegro. [passage omitted]

[Pavlovic] Let us go back to domestic issues. How do you view the threat of the federal government with penal measures that are being announced, if Montenegro continues to resist paying its commitments to the federation? Besides, duties on goods at border passages in Montenegro have been abolished. What is happening, as a matter of fact? The socio-economic and political relations in the federation are reminiscent more and more of the situation before the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. Shall we hear soon cheering "Montenegro—my country?"

[Djukanovic] I think that, generally, the problem is in the fact that the federal state is still not performing all of its functions prescribed by the Constitution. The federal government owes to the Montenegrin pensions fund money even from 1994, and I think that the debt has grown in the meantime to over 100 million dinars. Those are huge means for the Montenegrin pensions fund, which in Montenegro equals the sum total of pensions to be paid over the period of four months.

I kept on warning the federal government that it should square its commitments to the Montenegrin pensions fund. They acknowledged their obligation, and said that they would pay their debt when they agreed on a rebalance of the federal budget. However, they had difficulties agreeing with the Serbian Government on the rebalance. And while they were abortively negotiating, pensions began coming late in Montenegro. I thought it was not all right. I proposed to my government that the revenues we paid to the federal state should be paid in our pensions and disability insurance fund, and in such a way to start reducing the debt of the federal government toward the fund. It is only a small part of the debt that has been squared so far, and the debt is still huge. I discussed the matter with the president and the vice president of the federal government, and asked them to find a solution for their debt for our relations to normalize as soon as possible, because measures taken so far are a forced solution.

As for customs duties—an illegal decision has been made that duties are to be paid on the spot, that is, at border passages, rather than in inland customs offices. But, to be honest, this has not been decided only for Montenegro, but for all Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, it is completely irregular, and means an additional burden on importers, who have many problems to struggle with because of sanctions anyway.

[Box, page 5]

[Pavlovic] As you were addressing the congress you said that privatization is one of the elements which make the policy of Montenegro distinctive. You mentioned, in addition to privatization, the construction of democratic society and absolute equality for all nationalities living in Montenegro. You also said that for Montenegro it was important that its policy remained unendangered in the federal union, and as long as it remained so the FRY would represent a frame in which Montenegro could imagine itself existing. Could you clarify your statement? Is your policy, with its distinctions, endangered in the federation? If there is any danger, from which side is it coming?

[Djukanovic] I do believe that today it is more than clear that any union rests upon interests. The story about unions resting upon some ideological platitudes belongs to the past, and, as we all know, it ended quite ingloriously, in view of our example. Therefore, Montenegro has interests to be part of any union in which its strategic political guidelines will be observed. And those are: Its democratic development, which presupposes privatization and maximal standard of human rights, and, second, its equal status in that union.

Whether that union is only the one with Serbia, or tomorrow a broader one with other members is irrelevant. Montenegro is an old state. Montenegrins are people who are very proud of their state. In our history we have never lived in opulence to be proud of our wealth. A substitute for such material wealth has always been our state, and we are most sensitive about that question. Therefore, we believe that we have a right to equality

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in any union, and as long as those two principles are observed—our democratic development and equality—that union in acceptable to us.

Djukanovic Welcomes Visit by Romania's Vacaroiu

LD1711212395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Nov. 17 (TANJUG)-Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic said here on Friday he believed that the coming visit to Montenegro of Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu would help promote cooperation with Bucharest.

In the Montenegrin capital Podgorica, Djukanovic received newly appointed charge d'affaires of the Romanian Embassy in Belgrade Panait Lefter, who announced Vacaroiu's visit to the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

Djukanovic thanked the Romanian Government for understanding and support it had shown during the international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Djukanovic said that the priority of Yugoslavia's foreign policy was to promote comprehensive cooperation with its neighbours, which was expected to gain momentum after the suspension of the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Kosovo

Rugova Praises U.S. Persistence on Balkan Peace

AU1811201695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 17 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Speaking at a press conference today in Prishtina [Pristina], President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova stressed his appreciation for the persistence of President Clinton and the U.S.A. towards bringing an end to the war in Bosnia and establishing peace in the Balkans. President Rugova welcomed a statement in Washington of the Swiss Foreign Minister Cotti on the necessity for the solution of the Kosova issue. Dr. Rugova also hailed the initiative and the organization of protest rallies in Brussels and other cities in Europe, as well as in the U.S.A. in support of the recognition of the Republic of Kosova.

Touching on the current state of affairs in Kosova, president of the republic referred to a large number of cases of intimidation, harassment, and diverse kinds of police torture against Albanians throughout Kosova. He said the continued repression of the Serbian regime has been further increasing tensions in Kosova. Dr. Rugova renewed his call for cessation of the Serbian regime's repression and the release of all Albanian political prisoners. He reasserted the demand for international protection of Kosova.

Speaking about the Serbian efforts to colonize Kosova, President Rugova illustrated this with announcement of the Serbian regime to build some 313 houses for Serb colonists in the socially-owned property of the Dubrava district, near Istog [Istok]. Echoing Serbian media reports that the Dutch Foundation "Doen" will be funding part of the construction, Dr. Rugova said that a clarification will be demanded from the Dutch Government.

President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova reasserted the expressed political will of people of Kosova for an independent and neutral state, open to both Albania and Serbia. Nevertheless, placing Kosova under an interim international civil protectorate would facilitate a solution and avert an open conflict, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova underscored.

Asked by reporters to comment on a project allegedly floated by certain Western countries, which has been carried out by the BUJKU newspaper on Thursday and Friday [16 and 17 November], President Rugova said diverse projects have been floated, adding he saw the last one as "a speculation in the positive sense of the word." The Albanian project has become familiar by now, Dr. Rugova said, referring to the bid for Kosova's independence and neutrality, a framework which would "accommodate the Albanians in the Balkans and the Albanian world in general, which would in turn calm down the situation as a whole." This would be to the benefit of Serbia, too, President Rugova emphasized.

In reply to a question by a reporter concerning the prospects of Kosova elections to be held in 1996, President of the Republic of Kosova said the regular term for the holding of elections is next year, and "our institutions and all political parties will see as to when the elections will take place." He stressed the significance of the 1992 parliamentary and presidential elections, which "have established the democratic institutions" which have been legitimized and recognized by the world, although operating under occupation.

German Bundestag Wants Solution To Include Kosovo

AU1911180795 Zurich BOTA SOT in Albanian 17 Nov 95 p 3

[Report by I. Spahiu: "Kosova Should Be Included in a Global Solution for Former Yugoslavia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn, 16 Nov—In a declaration signed by the chairmen of the parliamentary groups, all the German political parties that participate in the

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Bundestag have requested that the German Government include Kosova in the framework of a global solution to conflicts in former Yugoslavia and to return the 1974 autonomy to Kosova and Vojvodina.

The recently published declaration signed by the major leaders of the parliamentary groups of the German political parties present in the Bundestag submits to the German Government several demands, which among other things ask that the Kosova issue be included in the global solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

In a decisive way, the declaration states that the autonomy seized by the Serbs in 1989 should be given back to Kosova and Vojvodina.

The German Bundestag demands that the demilitarization of Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina be carried out under OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] surveillance, with the aim of establishing equal relations in the whole region.

Within the framework of these demands, there arises also the issue of creating a possibility for extraditing the refugees to the territories from which they came and also that of failing to recognize the results of the ethnic cleansing policy in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

A debate on these topics will be held in the Bundestag on 24 November, which the German Government representatives are expected to attend.

Vojvodina

Hungarians Oppose Resettlement of Serb Refugees

LD1911224295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZVM] is calling on the Serb authorities to stop the forceful changing of the ethnic composition of the province. The DZVM leaders published their call after learning about the authorities' intention to settle a further 40,000 or so Serb refugees from Bosnia and Krajina in those districts of Vojvodina where Hungarians constitute the majority of the population.

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